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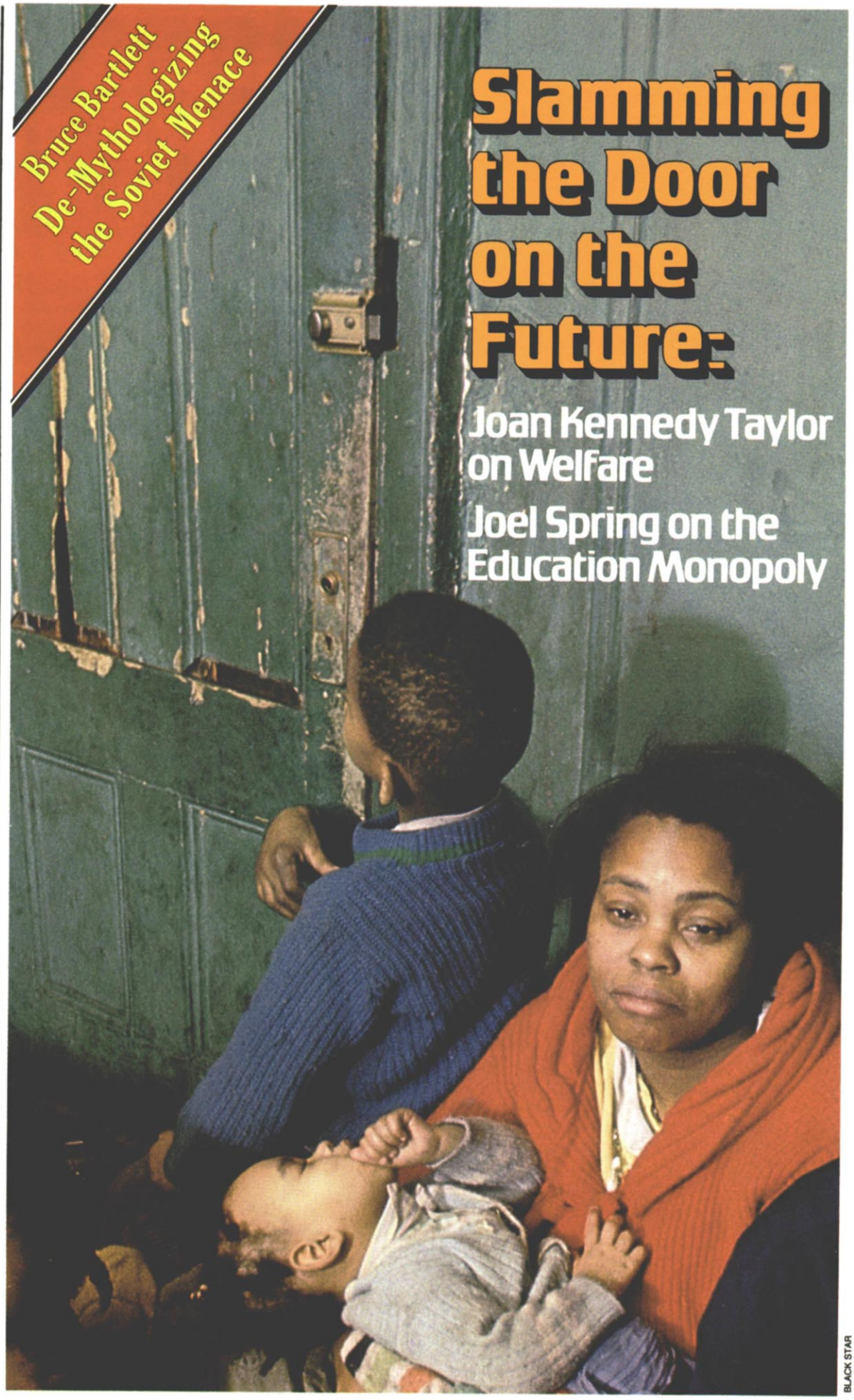
Bruce Bartlett De-Mythologizing the Soviet Menace

Slamming the Door on the Future:

Joan Kennedy Taylor on Welfare

Joel Spring on the Education Monopoly



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April 1980
Volume 9, No.4

CONTENTS

Welfare: Keeping the Poor in Their Place

by Joan Kennedy Taylor

LR's Senior Editor details how both taxpayers and the poor are victimized by our Welfare system—which spies on its recipients while eliminating their chances to improve themselves.

Page . . .14

The Editor: *Roy A. Childs, Jr.*
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FEATURES

Joel Spring on the Educational Monopoly 24

An LR *Interview*

The author of *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State* and *The Sorting Machine* discusses the long trend of centralization of schooling in America, and how that trend has left us with a $14 billion Department of Education.

De-Mythologizing the Soviet Menace 32

by Bruce Bartlett

A seasoned congressional aide discusses why "the Soviet invasion is less an indication of Soviet strength than of Soviet weakness."

DEPARTMENTS

Opening Shots 4

by Bill Birmingham

LR Editorials 6

Poverty and Crime; Women and the Draft; Time For the Real Truth; To Each His Own Foreign Policy

The Movement 12

by Jeffrey Sanchez

Books and Arts 36

Robert Formaini on *Dmitri Shostakovich's* **Testimony**
David Lampo on *Howard Jarvis's* **I'm Mad As Hell**
Victoria Varga on *L. Neil Smith's* **The Probability Broach**
David Brudnoy on religion in the cinema

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OPENING SHOTS

'KEEP YOUR HEAD DOWN--THESE SWAMPS ARE FULL OF COMMUNISTS!'

BILL BIRMINGHAM

EVERY PART OF THE government, in the last analysis, is devoted to exploiting the taxpayer, but there exists something called the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council which specializes in oppressing the foreign taxpayer. Specifically, it is charged with pressuring foreign governments, notably those of China and the USSR, to extort even more money from their subjects so as to pay off the bonds issued by their predecessors. The FBPC emerged from its sewer recently during Congressional hearings on granting China most-favored-nation trade status, insinuating that giving China favored-nation treatment would cost the Council its "leverage" in getting her to repay the Kuomingtang's debts. Consider the infamy of it: The long-suffering Chinese people, seeking to relieve their miserable poverty by selling to relatively freer Americans are told they may not do so unless they submit to increased tax-oppression by their present rulers, in order to repay the fat cats who financed the oppression of their *old* rulers. (Remember that the next time you hear some politician quacking about the "captive nations.") That's what comes of treating government securities—which are essentially nothing but loans made to gangsters in exchange for a share in their loot—as legitimate obligations. But they aren't, and those who buy them not only do not deserve repayment, they deserve (assuming they are not witlings) all the contempt and loathing with which we today regard the jackals who financed the slave trade, or bought shares in pirate ships.

Reed Irvine's *Advocacy in Media* (most commentators misspell the first word of the name) breathlessly reveals "the 4 top Carter appointees who gave Nicaragua away to Marxism [sic]" in an article reprinted by Richard Viguerie's *Conservative Digest*. The source is an interview by the *Houston Chronicle* with the deposed Nicaraguan tyrant Anastasio Somoza (well, no one can accuse *him* of "liberal bias") who claims "the U.S. was part of a plot to place their strongest ally and supporter in the hands of the Communists." Indeed, one of the alleged Gang of Four, Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, supposedly threatened to deport Somoza unless he pressured his stooge—beg pardon: successor—to resign. "Those s.o.b.'s," ranted the former dictator, "could, at their discretion, handcuff me, put me on an airplane and send me back to Nicaragua to face a Communist firing squad." That Somoza deserves exactly that for his crimes—or even that his crimes were real and not a diabolical

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hoax of "the Communists" —is, for Irvine, a mystery as profound as the quark: as is the fact that none of the Washington newspapers repeated "Somoza's stinging charges."

Keep an eye peeled for Satcom III, the one-ton, $20-million satellite which RCA had launched to relay cable TV programs, and which NASA managed to lose four days after launch. The *Los Angeles Times* (December 4, 1979) quoted cable entrepreneur Ted Turner's explanation of the mystery: "He suggested that, considering how ABC, CBS, NBC and the National Association of Broadcasters [to say nothing of the FCC] have lobbied in the past to hamstring cable television's development, perhaps they pooled their resources to buy 'some missile system to shoot down the satellite.'" ("'I'm only joking,' Turner quickly added.")

The right to kick vending machines is the latest addition by the National Labor Relations Board to the rights of the workingman. The Board recently heard two cases of employees who had been fired for mistreating machines at their workplaces. Observing that "vending machines are most imperfect creatures, subject to being abused without penalty, when they malfunction," the NLRB ordered the workers rehired. Perhaps they didn't notice that the same observation describes (or should describe) the National Labor Relations Board.

The Department of Energy has plans to put 10,000 electric vehicles on the nation's roads and highways by 1986, and, as is customary in such undertakings, has drawn up an environmental impact report to uncover hidden dangers. Chief among these, it seems, is that electric cars are quiet; so quiet, in fact, that the DOE says they must be made noisier to warn unsuspecting jaywalkers. And if that doesn't work, they might require (as England once did of the railroads) that each electric car be preceded by a man on horseback, carrying a red flag.

Tom Rusk and Randy Read, two San Diego psychiatrists who run "stress-reduction workshops" for public employees, "see a clear pattern emerging: Middle-class Americans in public-service jobs are about to revolt." Actually they've always been revolting, but now they are rising up angry over—you guessed it—"Proposition 13 fever." It is they, Rusk and Read opine on the *Los Angeles Times* op-ed page (December 9, 1979. Get a copy if you can; it is a truly appalling document), who "bear the brunt of every cutback. Either their job is at stake, or their job is to make the cuts, or they must accomplish their job despite the cuts, because we, the public, won't accept any reduction in services." (Actually we, the public, want them to do the job they never performed, but that would be too traumatic to bear.) As a result, Americans now regard bureaucrats with "something close to contempt. In turn, many civil servants feel alienated and abandoned." Strikes, sickouts and slowdowns (but how could they tell?) abound; as well as "an increase in police shootings in many jurisdictions" (which may constitute 3.6 percent of all homicides) which shows the true nature of our public "servants" for all to see, even though Rusk and Read choose to remain blind. This "profound class struggle ... between civil servants and their 'employers'," between the robbers and the robbed, is such a delightful prospect that it would be a shame if it existed only in the fevered imagination of these two butterfly-men; who, we must remember, have a class interest of their own in persuading our rulers that their hirelings need "stress reduction."

This seems as good a place as any to commend to you the work of Mr. Stephen Chapman, staff writer for *The New Republic,* who serves as a voice of libertarian sanity in that neoconservative wilderness. His "Washington Diarist" column of December 8 is a fine example. There, he attacks "the growing nostalgia for the deposed Shah," reminding us that he was in fact a truly loathsome monster. After a graphic description of the practices in the Shah's torture chambers he notes: "Some Americans may feel our failure to ... do what? send in troops? in support of such a cherished ally was not so shameful after all." And more: Chapman denounces the smarmy George Will, *and* Chapman's own magazine, for suggesting that "the ayatollah could be squashed by a battalion of marines or a few well-placed double agents." Those days are gone forever, says Chapman, and he's all in favor of it: "As it happens, back when we were running things, we didn't do a very good job of serving the interests of freedom and democracy ... It may occasionally be unpleasant and even infuriating that the rest of the world prefers not to live under American puppet governments, but one would be hard-pressed to argue that the rest of the world is appreciably worse off for the refusal." And for lagniappe, he attacks *The New Republic*'s "symptoms of guilt over our opposition to US involvement in the war in Vietnam." Noting that the American war effort was "hideously destructive of the people and countries we purported to be saving" he observes: "It is not always possible—in Vietnam or in Iran — to avert tyranny. Sometimes the best we can do is avoid giving it active support. Even that would be a big improvement over what we have done before, and what people like Will and Edward Luttwak—and some editors of *TNR*, apparently—would have us do now."

Remember "sunset laws"? They were very big around 1976 or so; President Carter, 87 Senators, and 200 Congresscritters all endorsed various schemes that would automatically kill every government program after x years unless Congress specifically reauthorized it. According to *The Washington Post,* the current thing is a "sunset law" without a sunset. One version being considered in the House Rules Committee would let the various Congressional committees pick the programs they wanted to review and give them a deadline to make recommendations. Programs that weren't reviewed, or weren't recommended for termination, or weren't explicitly terminated by a vote of the full House (and Senate) — the vast majority, of course— would continue. Farcical as such a proposal is, it probably wouldn't be much worse in practice than the various state "sunset" laws, under which the overwhelming majority (199 out of 200, in one case) of the state programs and agencies automatically "reviewed" are automatically approved. At least the House version would, if passed, discredit "sunset" once and for all, and serve as yet one more example of the futility of attempting to roll back the state, other than by voting Libertarian. ❑

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EDITORIALS

Poverty and crime

EVERY PUBLIC OPINION poll which poses the question discovers that most Americans regard violent crime as one of the most serious problems our society faces. And all indications are that it is growing more serious — because more commonplace — by the day. "Since 1960," says *Time,* "the rate of robbery, murder and rape has almost tripled." And every study of the demographics of such violent crime shows that an altogether disproportionate amount of it is committed by unemployed black youths between the ages of 14 and 22. In Oakland, California, for example, nearly 40 percent of all serious crimes are committed by youngsters between the ages of 14 and 17, and more than 80 percent of these youngsters are poor and black.

Their victims are usually black too. Blacks make up about 11 percent of the U.S. population, but they shoulder 14 percent of the annual nationwide violent crime bill. During 1977, more blacks were killed by other blacks (typically during armed robberies) than were killed in the entire Vietnam War—a war in which blacks participated as soldiers to an extent entirely disproportionate to their presence in the population.

In recognition of these problems, the National Bar Association sponsored a national conference early this year on "Black on Black Crime." The conference (which was held in Oakland, a city whose population is nearly 50 percent black) attracted legal and law enforcement professionals, journalists, and black community leaders from all over the United States; and certain of its findings deserve to be much more widely publicized than they have been thus far.

Robert Maynard, the longtime *Washington Post* reporter and editorial writer who recently took over editorship of the *Oakland Tribune,* opened the conference with a keynote address in which he emphasized that street crime "tends to rise in some relationship to how many teenagers are on the streets without constructive activities or work." His theme was picked up and echoed by Charles Sanders, managing editor of *Ebony* magazine. "When the legitimate roads to personal achievement and material rewards are blocked or narrowed," Sanders told the conferees, "people will resort to illegal means to survive." A 16-year-old black criminal interviewed anonymously by the *Oakland Tribune* in conjunction with its coverage of the conference made the point even more straightforwardly. "Why are so many serious crimes committed by youngsters under 17 years old?" the *Tribune* asked him. "To get some money," he answered. "To do what they have to do, they take what they have to take. If their mothers and fathers aren't working, they have to survive the best they can. Everybody has to get some money. Mostly, people'll do anything to get money."

"How about getting a job to make money?" the *Tribune* asked.

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"There ain't no jobs," 16-year-old "Charles" answered. "If you go for a job when you're 15, they say come back when you're 18. When you're 18, they say come back when you're 21."

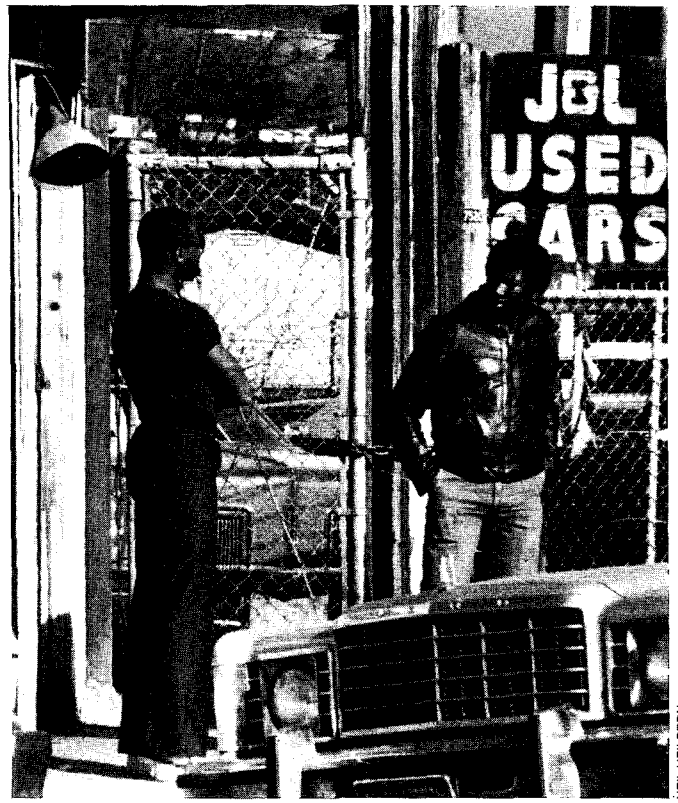
The unemployment statistics bear out "Charles's" vision of things. According to the *Tribune,* more than half the young people between 16 and 22 in Oakland's black ghetto are unemployed. Nationally, slightly less than half of such teenagers are unable to find jobs.

Predictably, this link between black youth unemployment and black youth crime led some participants in the Black on Black Crime conference to call for increased government involvement in the problem. U.S. Attorney G. William Hunter, NAACP attorney Charles Carter, and California state legislator Elihu Harris all "criticized government officials for a waning interest in the funding of programs which could reduce unemployment," according to the *Tribune,* and "noted that the education system is failing blacks, causing many to graduate as functional illiterates."

But, refreshingly, other participants in the conference seemed unimpressed by the idea of more government programs. Dr. Gary Mendez, an official of the National Urban League, laid his own skepticism on the line. "I have a question about this whole issue of programs," he told the conferees. "I don't know that we need new programs so much. If *we* educate our children so they could fill out job applications, maybe there wouldn't be a youth unemployment problem. If they had jobs, there wouldn't be a need for welfare services. If we get into the mentality that all we need are new government programs, that's wrong. Don't ask for new programs to educate children. Just make sure yours is."

One might question Dr. Mendez's suggestion that the inability of many 16-year-old blacks to fill out employment applications is the only thing standing between them and jobs. As "Charles," the anonymous young black criminal reminds us, "if you go for a job when you're 15, they say come back when you're 18. When you're 18, they say come back when you're 21." After all, how could it be otherwise? Federal and state child labor laws make it impossible for businessmen to employ anyone under 18 unless they are willing to entangle themselves in miles of bureaucratic red tape and invest extraordinary time and money in a worker who, because he or she is an inexperienced teenager, probably isn't worth the investment. And this problem is only exacerbated by the federal and state laws which require businessmen to pay a minimum wage. The labor of inexperienced teenagers is simply not worth the minimum wage—and neither is the labor of 18-to 21-year-old workers who have been kept out of the labor force by child labor laws and are therefore inexperienced and inefficient when they finally enter it. A marginal business in a black ghetto literally cannot afford to offer a job to an unemployed black youth; government programs have made it impossible.

Still, one should not underestimate the importance of the public school system to the problem of black youth unemployment. The schools *do* produce functional illiterates. And someone who can neither read nor write well enough to cope with a job application is unlikely to find work. But the problem with the public schools is not that they aren't funded well enough to teach children to read. As the 1960s have become the '70s and the '70s have given way to the '80s, our public school teachers and administrators have been spending ever more and more money to do an ever less and less adequate job of educating an ever dwindling student population. The problem with the public schools, as educational historian and critic Joel Spring points out elsewhere in this issue, is that, in the words of Ellison Brown, an Oakland social worker who attended the Black on Black Crime conference, they are "trying to teach kids what to think instead of how to think." The kind of thinking we call reading is only one of many examples.



NEIL HEILPERN

"There ain't no jobs. Mostly, people'll do anything to get money."—A 16-year-old black criminal. *Oakland Tribune.*

And while some government programs are forcing black youths out of the job market and helping to make sure that they haven't the skills to compete in it once they're old enough to work legally, other government programs are making it impossible for them to start their own businesses and employ themselves. In order to do that, they have to come up not only with investment capital, but also with the license fees established by government (fees which, as in the case of taxi licenses, often exceed the amount of investment capital needed merely to start the business)—to say nothing of the often immense sums they need to conform to "health and safety" regulations, building codes, and the like. The same politicians who cry crocodile tears over the plight of the poor think nothing of forbidding a ghetto mother to start a neighborhood child care center which would bring economic benefits to everyone in the neighborhood, because her ceiling is one inch too low. Better, the politicians apparently believe, that the ghetto mother should collect welfare while her children, once they become teenagers, enroll in a government-funded or government-run program of jobs for young people.

Yet if anything at all is obvious about the plight of the poor in our society, it is that such programs don't work. As Joan Kennedy Taylor argues elsewhere in this issue, our welfare programs only trap the poor in their poverty and give government almost unlimited license to run their lives and pry into their most personal affairs. And as for government funded jobs for youth,

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listen to the testimony of one Oakland social worker who described the futility of such programs at the Black on Black Crime conference: "You want to help kids with a summer program that gives them a part-time job at minimum wage?" he asked the conferees. "Hell, any one of these kids can buy half an ounce of marijuana, roll it up into joints and make $50 in one day. And that's with no taxes." Simply put, ghetto youths have no economic incentive to join jobs for youth programs.

And whose fault is it that starting a marijuana business is such a more attractive alternative? Government. It is government which has systematically made it impossible for ghetto residents to start any other kind of business, and it is government which has driven the price of marijuana to its present heights by banning its possession and sale. A weed which can be grown easily in any backyard in the United States cannot be sold for $100 an ounce in a free market. In a government-created and government-sustained black market, it can.

There is widespread agreement that poverty, unemployment and a generalized feeling of helplessness and hopelessness lie behind the high rate of violent crime among black youths. But there is as yet far too little recognition — especially among its victims — that government itself is the principal cause of the poverty, unemployment and impotence—and therefore of the crime. Those who consider the libertarian belief in individual initiative and the value of bootstrapping oneself upward economically an unrealistic pipedream should consider the institution which has rendered it unrealistic and ask themselves if it is realistic to expect that same institution to set things right again.

—JR

"YOU'VE COME A LONG WAY, BABY!"

Women and the draft

TWO THOUSAND PROtesters in Times Square. *Three* thousand in Beverly Hills. President Carter seems to have opened up a can of worms with his call for draft registration, and the worm has turned. The reaction of individual women and of representatives of organized women's groups interviewed by the *San Francisco Chronicle* was, in the words of a reporter, "entirely negative." A new organization sprang up even before the presidential announcement on February 8, the National Organization of Women Against Registration (NO WAR) and accused government and the military of using the issue of women's rights "to serve their interests rather than our own." Betty Friedan told a *Washington Post* reporter that the draft is a red herring: "The issue isn't whether women should be drafted. Every woman I know, from feminists to right-to-lifers, is opposed to the draft, period." One San Francisco fifteen-year-old summed it all up. "I think that those who vote to have a war should be the ones who have to fight it," she said.

The massive invasion of human rights that registration for the draft represents has as much to do with domestic control as with foreign policy. It is significant that Carter's chief *domestic* policy advisor, Stuart Eizenstat, rather than someone from the State Department, was the dignitary chosen to talk to the media and say that registration would "send a strong message to the Soviet Union that this country is resolved to do what is necessary in the long run to meet its aggression." How? By making our own citizens less free? And as for Rosalyn Carter's statement at a fund-raising breakfast that the call for draft registration was intended to "keep our country at peace," that is really 1984 doubletalk: war is peace; slavery is freedom.

The President's decision to register women while proclaiming that he has "no intention" of changing the present military policy that allows women in combat *support* positions (i.e. doing things like piloting helicopters, driving trucks, and even launching missiles in areas where they will be shot at), but not in combat itself, has made it clear that women have no seniority in our culture. They are the last to be allowed certain opportunities to choose, and the first to be called on for sacrifice. In World War II, for example, the members of the Women Air Force Service Pilots (WASPs) ferried planes and towed anti-aircraft targets from 1942 until 1944 but were given no veteran's benefits—not even funeral expenses for the 38 WASPs that were killed in action. Many women are quite understandably incensed by the fact that, as Beverly Stephens of the New York News Syndicate puts it, "too many men are always eager for women to accept the *burden* of equality but not the *benefit*." Bella Abzug's answer to the call to register women was to say, "When American women have equality of opportunity, it will be time enough to talk about equality of sacrifice."

Unfortunately, such a statement implies that it is all right for the government to require *any* kind of sacrifice from its citizens, as long as it does so equally. And in their desire for equality before the law, many women, and women's groups, have let themselves thus be drawn into accepting the legitimacy of the draft. The National Organization for Women has announced that women as well as men should be called if there is a draft, and Julia Arri, the national president of the Business and Professional Women's Club issued a statement saying that "we believe, as the President does, that equal rights means equal responsibility." This position only plays into the Administration's hands.

President Carter must have advisors who know a lot about advertising. Because the American people are being sold a proposal to put *every young person in the country* into government computer records, beginning with those born in

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1960 and going on indefinitely — presumably until the entire population is on file a generation from now. This is a very scary, Orwellian prospect; it doesn't take much imagination to think of all kinds of ways besides a draft in which the government could use this information to invade our privacy and violate our rights.

But this horrendous proposal has been packaged with advertising genius. First of all, there's the reassuring choice of the Post Office as the place in which to register. Who could associate that monument of inefficiency, the bumbling old U.S. Snail, with Big Brotherism or militarism? Probably, we think subliminally, they will lose half the records.

And Betty Friedan is right: the question of drafting women is indeed a "red herring." One of the principles of successful selling is to give people a choice of *how* they want to buy something —do I want the walnut veneer or the contemporary concrete finish? Will I send in the coupon or call the toll free number? Advertising experts find that this gets people so involved in a secondary decision that they make the primary one without noticing—they forget to ask themselves if they want to buy at all. Today, the media are full of discussions about women and the draft. Should women be drafted? Should they refuse to register *until* the ERA is ratified, or should they register, hoping that will *help* the ERA? And we forget that by arguing about whether or not women should be included, we tacitly accept the draft as a permissible option.

But it is not. The draft is wrong. Spreading the burden of that wrong more evenly doesn't make it right. The proper answer for women to give to the President is this: women can resist the draft as well as men can.

—JKT

Time for the real truth

Is that calamitous [Federal] budget due perhaps to defense expenditures? That, of course, is what liberals have been screaming in unison for years. As usual, what liberals scream in unison is not so.
—*William Simon,* A Time For Truth

WELL, STARTING NEXT year what liberals scream in unison will indeed be so. We're talking about the new Carter budget, of course; it proposes spending $696-billion in fiscal year 1981, and about $162-billion of that on the military. To appreciate those figures, you must realize that they represent an overall budget increase of 6.45 percent, and a "defense" budget hike of 14.3 percent. Non-military expenditures are essentially unchanged; their increases come to about 4 percent, well below the rate of inflation. Therefore it is the Pentagon, and only the Pentagon, which will enjoy a real increase in what it sucks from the public trough. And unless something is done this will happen again in the years to come: Jimmy Carter, embracing the current war hysteria, has pledged to boost military spending by at least 5 percent, over and above inflation, each and every year for the next five years. Will we hear as much as one peep of protest from Simon & Co., or will they only continue to scream in unison that the sorry state of the budget is due to welfare expenditures? Given their past record, we can safely expect them to scream away.

Simon and his fellow conservatives will also, no doubt, scream in unison that the welfare state is a far greater threat to America than the warfare state—and besides, we must arm to the teeth to keep Leonid Brezhnev out of Iowa. That last is certainly a lie: The great bulk of the Pentagon's non-nuclear forces — conservatively estimated by Dr. Earl Ravenal as between $70-billion and $80-billion —is devoted to the demands of an interventionist foreign policy in Europe, Asia and the Middle East, not to the defense of the United States. So too with Carter's proposed defense boost. Its centerpiece is the so-called Rapid Deployment Force, specially designed to swoop down on Middle Eastern oil fields, which will require a fleet of ships loaded with munitions (the T-AKX Maritime Prepositioning Ship, costing about $100 million a copy), cruising near potential trouble spots, and a new cargo plane, the CX, to carry soldiers and equipment (the Air Force's current jet cargo plane, the C-5A, is deemed unsuitable for the role due to the tendency of its wings to fall off). Ships and plane are expected to cost a total of $10-billion and will surely cost more. Figures for the CX increase every time the Army ups the weight estimates on its XM-1 battle tank—another dubious weapons system that bulks large in the Carter budget. One of the CX's chief purposes, notes Alexander Cockburn of the *Village Voice,* will be to carry the XM-1, "boondoggle within the womb of boondoggle, secure in the amniotic fluid of the tax dollar, yours and mine."

But the cost of the Rapid Deployment Force, ungodly as it is, pales into insignificance compared to that of the various nuclear weapons programs. Chief among these is the MX missile, well known to our regular readers, which will cost an estimated $55-billion (Senator Proxmire puts it at $70-billion), and the Trident submarine program, which will cost more than $25-billion. Writing in the *Nation* (December 22, 1979), defense analyst Fred Kaplan concludes that the defense budget also contains hidden preparations for a revived B-1 bomber, which cost $25-billion when it was cancelled in 1977. (*Armed Forces Journal International* for May of 1978 revealed that the Air Force had faked the case for the B-1. But California Congresscritters Charles Wilson and Robert K. Dornan still want the B-1 to "express to the Soviets American resolve. [sic]") Compare these figures with

IN 1952 THE RUSSIANS SPENT 34 BILLION ON DEFENSE WHILE WE SPENT 43 BILLION.
IN 1960 THE RUSSIANS SPENT 33 BILLION ON DEFENSE WHILE WE SPENT 45 BILLION.
IN 1965 THE RUSSIANS SPENT 45 BILLION ON DEFENSE WHILE WE SPENT 52 BILLION
IN 1970 THE RUSSIANS SPENT 63 BILLION ON DEFENSE WHILE WE HIKED OUR BUDGET TO 78 BILLION
IN 1980 WE PROJECT A RUSSIAN DEFENSE BUDGET OF OVER 100 BILLION. WE WILL RAISE THE ANTE TO 126 BILLION
SOON WE WILL SPEND THEM INTO BANKRUPTCY.

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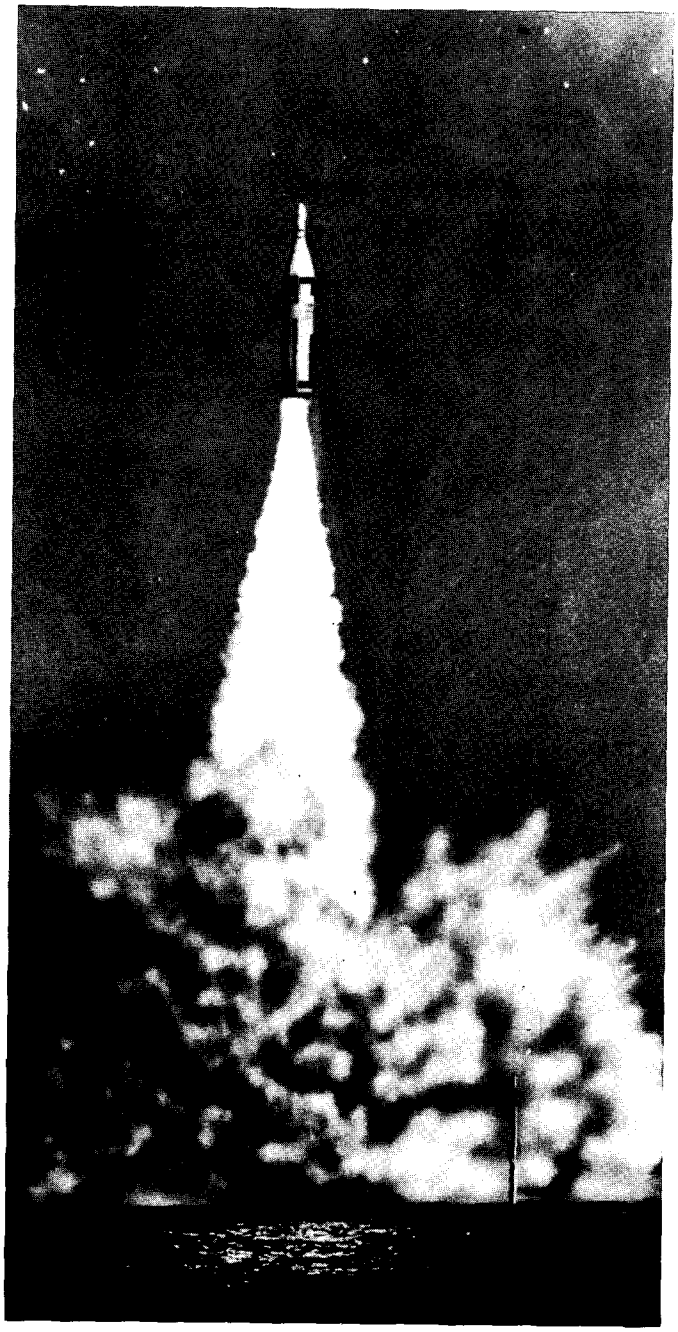
the most expensive proposal on the liberal agenda: the $25-billion Carter-Long national health insurance scheme (Teddy Kennedy's $40-billion plan is, thankfully, a political non-starter). It is hardly obvious that the warfare state is to be preferred to the welfare one, even setting aside the fact that these weapons systems will greatly increase the risk of nuclear holocaust, something the National Tea Tasters Board could never do.

And even in peacetime, the warfare state has a uniquely malign effect on the economy. Unlike transfer payments such as Social Security, food stamps, and the like, which mainly redistribute consumption, military programs sop up skilled labor, materials and capital goods that could otherwise be devoted to something useful. This is not inflation —though many economists expect higher defense spending to bring inflation, as the Federal Reserve eases the resulting credit crunch by expanding the money supply — but something worse: a real loss in production. More: these programs inevitably commandeer a disproportionate share of capital goods and research efforts, which in the long run will cripple civilian productivity, as Seymour Melman demonstrates in his books *Pentagon Capitalism* and *The Permanent War Economy*. Coming on top of 40 years of a war economy, this arms buildup should prove more ruinous than any in the past. The *Christian Science Monitor* (February 8, 1980) notes that several strategic materials and classes of skilled workers are already in short supply; the *Monitor* sees the Pentagon imposing "a large-scale redirection of the civilian economy" (including "possible wage and price controls") through its existing priority rating system whereby a military project may be declared to have "all-out priority over civilian material needs." Such a system, which would sound the death knell for what remains of our free enterprise economy, would be no more than a continuation of a long-term historical trend; most features of the command economy were first introduced as wartime expedients.



WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

The conservatives' silence on the war economy has precedent abroad. In the 1950's Pierre Poujade led a tax revolt that bid fair to roll back the state in France. Yet Poujadism collapsed; mainly because the Poujadists wanted France to crush the Algerian revolution and feared that serious tax cuts would prevent this. Similarly, conservative devotion to American imperialism may yet strangle the U.S. tax revolt in its cradle (though happily, the powerful National Taxpayers' Union denounced the Carter arms budget in a February 10 letter to the *New York Times*.) Someday William Simon may understand this; meanwhile, it's time for libertarians to proclaim the *real* truth: Militarism and the free market don't mix.

—BB

Guest Editorial

To each his own foreign policy

MANY AMERICANS justly feel angered by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. While Soviet troops ruthlessly kill hundreds of innocent Afghans, the millions of us looking on feel helpless, a feeling that only adds to our anger and frustration. While it is natural for us to feel that we must be able to do *something* to right the Soviet government's wrongs, we should carefully examine policies born of anger and frustration. Such policies are seldom right.

President Carter's main reaction to the crisis has been to embargo grain that Americans had planned to sell to the Soviet Union. Is this action right? It enforces "morality" by taking away each individual's freedom to decide the issue for himself. If I decide to sell grain to the Soviets, I cannot do so, under penalty of fine or imprisonment. If I decide the best way to respond to the Soviet invasion is to buy up grain that would otherwise be sold to the Soviet Union, I cannot do that, because the Carter government has already done it for me—using the money of innocent Americans, many of whom have different views on the issue. Carter's actions suggest that he considers himself the only American who has a right to decide moral questions. He has a right to think that, but damn his almighty gall in denying *our* right to act individually and peacefully on the basis of our own moral convictions.

The grain embargo will claim other innocent victims besides Americans who lose their freedom to choose. But before considering them, let us consider what the Presi-

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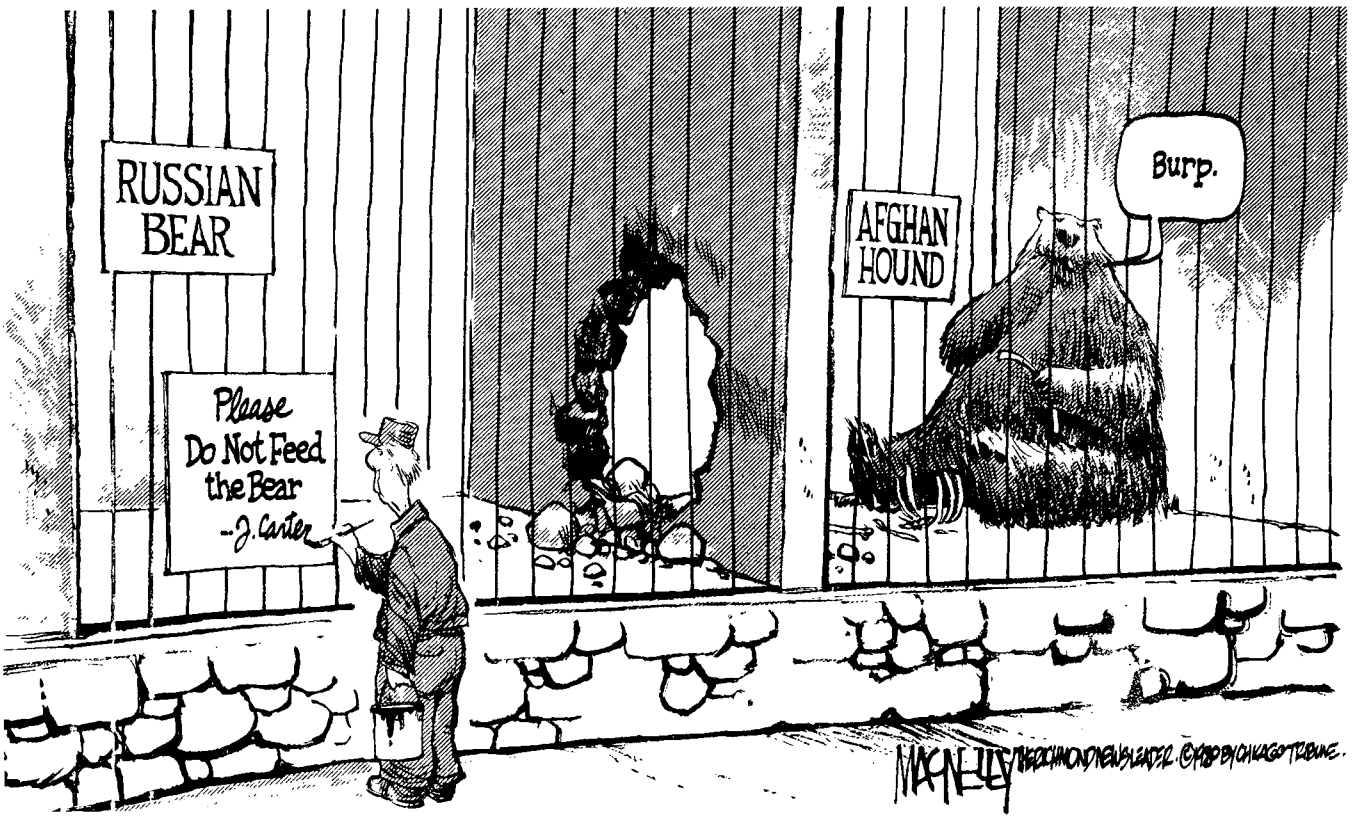

dent must do in order to make an embargo effective. He must go much further than simply embargoing the USSR. He must cause a net reduction in the world grain supply. And he cannot do this simply by selling the grain to another country, since that country could turn around and resell it to the Soviets. Nor can he do it by using the grain to produce gasohol, since gasohol production facilities cannot be expanded that quickly. These grain supplies will still be on the market. Even if Carter simply withholds the grain to sell it in future years, he will not have much effect on world supplies since speculators, anticipating an increased supply and therefore a lower price in the future, will put their reserves on the market now. Carter's policy can thus be effective only if he destroys grain and thereby drives up the world price.

This brings us to the other victims. Higher prices will victimize not only the Russians but also the residents of all other grain-importing nations. And what do we mean by "Russians," anyway? We are speaking of 260-million individual people, not some undifferentiated glob of humanity. Carter's embargo will force the already oppressed Russians (that is, most of the population) to give up much of their already meager consumption of meat, but we can be sure that Brezhnev and his Kremlin buddies will not miss any meat from their diets.

What is the rationale behind such a policy? It must be that if you harm the Russian people in order to protest the Soviet government's being in Afghanistan the Russian people will blame the Soviet government, which, feeling the heat, will be more likely to leave Afghanistan. This thinking assumes that just because we see the Soviet government as the bad guy and the US government as the good guy, so will the Russian people. They might see it that way, but an equally plausible case could be made that the Russian people, resenting the US-enforced deprivation, will blame the United States and support their own government. They have a long history of supporting their government, no matter how tyrannical, in the face of hostile foreign governments, and the Soviet government's monopoly of information sources within the Soviet Union makes this result even more likely. Furthermore, forbidding US athletes and other US residents from attending the Olympics in Moscow would only prevent valuable contact between residents of both countries, which will strengthen the Soviet government's information monopoly and make the Russian people even more susceptible to Soviet propaganda.

Moreover, to the extent it is effective, the embargo can only make America's existence less valuable to the Soviet Union and increase the probability that the Soviet government will try to annihilate us. Trade promotes interdependence between nations.

Admittedly, predicting how the Russian people will react to the embargo is difficult. But that makes it all the more important that each American be allowed to choose his own strategy. As the late George Meany said when American longshoremen boycotted shipments of grain to the Soviet Union during detente, "foreign policy is too damned important to be left to the Secretary of State." Let each person make his own prediction about the effects of an embargo and let each person act on his own prediction. Americans who think an embargo will only make things worse should be free to refrain from participating in it — even indirectly by being taxed to support it. On the other hand, Americans who think an embargo a good idea should be free to boycott the Soviet Union. They should be free to buy up goods that otherwise would go to the USSR and to refrain from selling goods to the USSR. If enough people were convinced that a boycott was a good idea, would a boycott be effective? Ask Rosa Parks. She is the black woman who sparked a boycott of the bus system in Montgomery, Alabama, 25 years ago, by refusing to sit at the back of a bus. ❑

—David R. Henderson

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THE MOVEMENT

LAURA AKERMAN/ STANFORD DAILY

SLS helped organize a late January anti-draft rally at Stanford which drew 1000 students . . .

JEFFREY SANCHEZ

ON JANUARY 23, 1980, President Carter, in his State of the Union address, declared that he had "determined that the Selective Service System must now be revitalized," and would "send legislation and budget proposals to the Congress next month so that we can begin registration and then meet future mobilization needs rapidly if they arise."

Happily, this talk of reinstating the unpopular (and unconstitutional) practice of involuntary servitude, has been met with an outpouring of protest by young Americans across the country. Many college campuses are seeing several anti-draft rallies each week. Many groups are sponsoring these rallies, most notably libertarians and a wide range of socialist organizations. Their message is clear: Young men and women simply will not tolerate this attempt to enslave them.

Students for a Libertarian Society has been working actively to educate young Americans on all the implications of reactivating the Selective Service System. Through rallies, seminars and workshops, SLS has exposed young people to both the libertarian ideology and the basics of a non-interventionist foreign policy. SLS chapters across the country report very favorable responses to these programs.

Those who would like some background information on the draft should refer to *LR's* April 1979 issue, which contained several features and editorials on conscription. Roy A. Childs, Jr., Earl Ravenal, Murray Rothbard and other writers contributed their analyses of the draft and demolished the myths supporting conscription. Copies are available from *LR* at $1.25 each.

It is of the utmost importance that libertarians continue to work against registration and the draft, for this threat is one of the gravest to individual liberty. Aside from the obvious implications of involuntary servitude, we must also consider the dangers to world peace posed by a standing conscripted army.

We urge all libertarians to stand against the draft and work to organize opposition to this evil. Those who would like assistance in organizing anti-draft programs should contact SLS at 1620 Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94111 or call (415) 781-5817.

President Carter's "get tough" stance during the Afghanistan crisis has not gone unchallenged either. Libertarian Party presidential candidate Ed Clark has been an outspoken critic of the Carter administration's hawkish mood.

Even before Carter's State of the Union address, Clark was speaking out against military intervention in Afghanistan and the proposed reinstatement of the draft. In a Portland, Oregon speech on January 8, Clark challenged the conventional "wisdom" of using military means to secure needed resources. "We cannot," he said, "secure the lives, property, and liberty of the American people with more of the same bankrupt foreign policy. We are told if only we had a few more bombs, a few more planes, ships or more military bases abroad, the world would be secure for American interests."

Clark also recommended that the United States disengage itself politically from the region and secure needed energy resources by deregulating domestic energy development. Clark offered

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MICHAEL SIMON/DAILY CALIFORNIAN

. . .and sponsored their own rally at Berkeley's Sproul Plaza.

the classic libertarian solution to our energy problems when he said, "A policy of free trade, with the elimination of the federal government as the middleman, would best insure our national security, our freedom, and our access to abundant supplies of energy."

Immediately after President Carter's State of the Union address, Clark condemned the draft proposal as slavery and asked for restraint in foreign policy rather than saber rattling, which, he said, "will only insure a continued series of international crises and eventual involvement in war."

Clark minced no words in denouncing Carter's appeals to the American people to sacrifice and be "tough." "They are a smokescreen," Clark said, "not only for President Carter's disastrous foreign policy, but also for his complete inability to come to grips with other pressing problems on the domestic front."

Libertarian criticism continued on Sunday, February 10, when the Clark for President Committee placed a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* attacking the Carter administration's handling of the crisis.

The advertisement warned of the dangers of using military force in Afghanistan and stated: "Libertarians believe that the abhorrent Soviet invasion of Afghanistan must *not* be used as a pretext for increased militarism on the part of the United States. With the lesson of the Viet Nam tragedy so fresh in our national memory, it is shocking even to consider taking military action that may include the use of nuclear weapons to 'defend our interests in the Persian Gulf.'"

The ad also proposed deregulation of the domestic economy and foreign noninterventionism as the way to solve our energy problems. "The time has come," it said, "to dismantle the regulations which shackle our economy. If we need more energy, then what we need is an offensive against the Department of Energy, not another war in Asia."

To the general public, such ideas are new and radical. The Clark campaign is playing a vital role in spreading libertarianism.

The Second Amendment Foundation has recently undertaken an analysis of S.1936, the "Handgun Crime Control Act of 1979," a bill introduced last October by presidential hopeful Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA). SAF Research Director William L. Garrison, Jr. prepared the analysis.

Garrison concludes that "the Kennedy bill, more than any gun control law ever passed or seriously considered by Congress, places new and unwarranted burdens upon the law-abiding gun owner, instead of upon the criminal." The bill, among other things, requires any handgun owner to obtain a federally approved handgun purchase permit before buying a pistol or revolver. It also allows individuals to buy no more than two handguns per year unless the government grants them permission to buy more.

A most important point made by Garrison is that the bill "does not increase penalties against those who *criminally* misuse a handgun but it does severely punish honest gun owners who will *innocently* run afoul of the law."

This critique of the Kennedy bill is available from the Second Amendment Foundation for $2.00. For a copy, write to: SAF Publications Department, 1601-114th SE #157, Bellevue, WA 98004.

The 1980 Census is just getting underway, but libertarians have been preparing to resist this coercive prying into individual affairs for several months now. Two organizations in particular, the Society for Individual Liberty and the Society for Libertarian Life, are leading the fight.

A maximum fine of $100 may be levied for refusal to answer the Census, but this is not deterring libertarians one bit. Lawrence Samuels, Executive Director of SLL not only wants people to refuse to answer the questionnaires, but to openly destroy them. "We are urging all citizens," he says, "to resist this blatant disregard for privacy and individual rights by mailing us your Census forms (or Xerox copies). We will then burn, shred or intentionally lose those forms in front of government Census offices and at press conferences across the nation."

Samuels is confident that this resistance will have an impact on the Census taking: "This year we expect at least one million persons will mail their census forms to us in protest."

Those who wish to join in this resistance, or want more information, should write to the following: Society for Libertarian Life, PO Box 4, Fullerton, CA 92632 or Society for Individual Liberty, PO Box 1147, Warminster, PA 18974.

The demand for libertarian ideas is continuing to expand and a Los Angeles group is helping to fill that need. Dissent Center for Scholarship is a libertarian adult school which offers classes, seminars, conferences and workshops on such subjects as economics, foreign policy, and rights theory. Instructors have included David Friedman, Tom Hazlett, Tibor Machan, Samuel E. Konkin, III, Manny Klausner and other notables. The school's director is long time libertarian activist Janice Allen.

For more information, write to Dissent, 205 South Western Avenue, Suite 211, Los Angeles, CA 90004 or call (213) 466-3776.

"The Movement" wants to hear from you. Keep us posted on what you (or your organization) are doing to promote the cause of liberty. We want to report the actions of anyone working for a free society. Please direct your information to Jeffrey Sanchez at Libertarian Review, 1620 Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94111.

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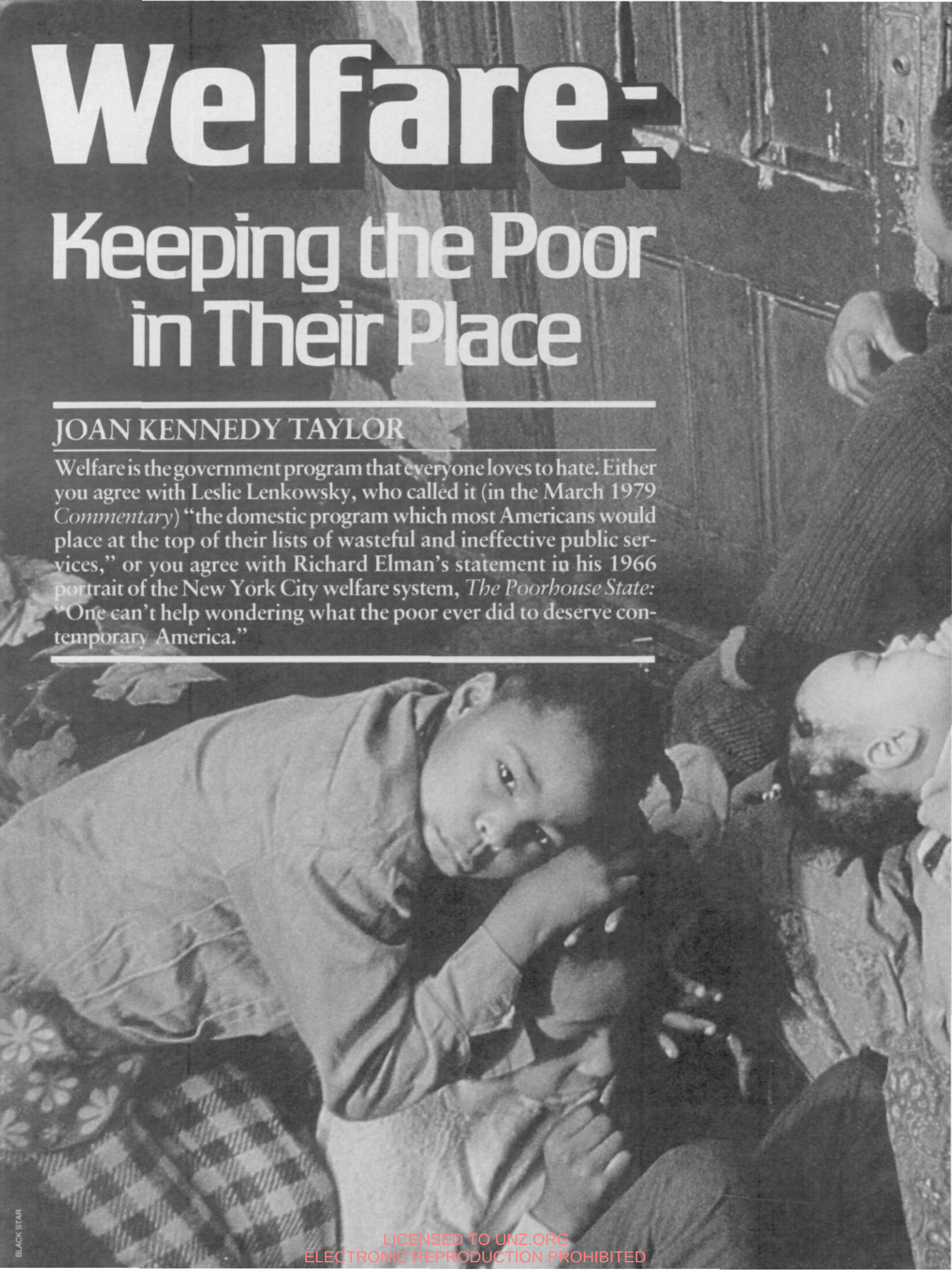
Welfare:

Keeping the Poor in Their Place

JOAN KENNEDY TAYLOR

Welfare is the government program that everyone loves to hate. Either you agree with Leslie Lenkowsky, who called it (in the March 1979 *Commentary*) "the domestic program which most Americans would place at the top of their lists of wasteful and ineffective public services," or you agree with Richard Elman's statement in his 1966 portrait of the New York City welfare system, *The Poorhouse State:* "One can't help wondering what the poor ever did to deserve contemporary America."



BLACK STAR

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Conservatives wonder too, but from a different point of view. An editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* on August 14, 1979, worried in print about transfer programs, which take money from the rich to give to the poor, or "to put it another way, take money from the working to give to the non-working. And while the second way of putting it is not the conventional one, it seems a lot more pertinent if you review the recent explosion of such programs. Taking a calculator to the tables in the latest Economic Report of the President, you find that over the last decade government transfers to persons grew by 280 percent, while wages and salaries grew by 134 percent. How long, we are forced to wonder, can transfers grow twice as fast as the earnings that ultimately must support them?"

The usual conservative attack on welfare is that taxpayers' money is going to those who are not really poor and are receiving it through fraudulent deception. When, in late 1979, the House of Representatives passed a bill requiring states to support needy families at a level of welfare benefits equal to 65 percent of the official poverty line, California Republican Representative John H. Rousselot spoke for conservatives when he said: "This bill increases welfare rolls substantially without any substantial promise it will take out of the program those who don't need it or who abuse it." (Of course, those who abuse it are often not recipients, but government employees—a recent California welfare fraud scandal involved welfare *workers* who were collecting bogus welfare checks in addition to their salaries.)

Liberals, on the other hand, look at welfare from the point of view of increasing government benefits for the poor, rather than the point of view of the overburdened taxpayer. Each position assumes that there must be a trade-off; either the poor must suffer or the taxpayer must suffer. Each position also assumes that the other one is unfairly selfish: the taxpayer criticizing the expansion of federal programs is accused of caring more about dollars than human lives; the welfare recipient is stereotyped as a lazy cheat.

Both the taxpayer and the welfare recipient are being maligned. The taxpayer not only has a right to his money; he's also given ample evidence of his good intentions. Even in the face of the heavy government drain on our purses (nondefense spending on all levels of government now totals "roughly one-third the national income" according to Milton Friedman), Americans still donate $40-billion a year to private charity.

And the welfare recipient, far from being the beneficiary of this massive government spending, is more often its victim. Stigmatized, bullied, interrogated, and spied on, he or she must live a life totally dominated by bureaucrats. "Being on welfare is a full-time job," says one New York City social worker. "If you do all the things the regulations require you to do, there's no time left to look for work."

So has it ever been. Here's how Ira Glasser, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, has characterized our welfare tradition:

> Welfare fed and clothed the poor, and public housing provided shelter. But individual rights became unthinkable.
>
> For people who needed shelter, the government provided public housing. But admission was denied for reasons such as poor housekeeping, irregular work history, frequent separations of husband and wife, single-parent families, common-law marriages, lack of furniture, apparent mental retardation, dishonorable discharge from the military, or the arrest of one's child. These standards were not the result of ad hoc decisions by unfair individuals; they were actually written down as the legal regulations of public-housing authorities, and they gave housing officials unprecedented discretion—the early Americans would have called it *dominion*—over other people's lives. Private troubles became a reason for public punishment.
>
> For people who needed money, the government provided welfare. But eligibility standards depended on morality. Every detail of a recipient's life was subject to scrutiny. Women were allowed different numbers of sanitary napkins each month, and men different numbers of razor blades, depending on whether they were employed or not. The same consideration governed the number of times one could have one's coat cleaned. There were no allowances for newspapers, and telephones were considered a luxury, even for the blind. A single woman with preschool, dependent children could have her children's benefits revoked if she were found to be sleeping with a man, and midnight raids by caseworkers became a common method of discovering such behavior. The abolition of privacy became a condition of survival.
>
> ...We have traditionally been seduced into supposing that because they represented charity, service professionals could speak for the best interests of their clients. By now we should know better. Power is the natural antagonist of liberty, even if those who exercise power are filled with good intentions. (*Doing Good: The Limits of Benevolence*)

From the libertarian point of view, both the liberal and the conservative approach to welfare represents a half-truth, and neither approach goes far enough. Each hopes to reform the system and make it equitable. But the inequities, to taxpayer and recipient alike, are *a necessary result of wedding charity to the coercive power of government.* It is the system itself that needs to be deglamorized; it is the very concept of government welfare that must be attacked.

Yet this is a concept that has been part of our civilization since medieval times. Few nonlibertarians would disagree with Los Angeles columnist Phil Kerby, who criticized the Libertarian Party's stand against taxation by writing: "The tax collector isn't my friend either, but without taxes, who will take care of the widows and orphans?"

How can libertarians counter the implications in such a question? First, we must make it clear that not only does our present system hurt, rather than benefit, the "widows and orphans," but it is in the nature of *any* such system to do so. Valuable data may be found in attacks on welfare by liberals and social democrats, although their mistrust of government never goes far enough: books such as Elman's *The Poorhouse State; Regulating the Poor,* by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward; and *Doing Good: The Limits of Benevolence,* by Willard Gaylin, Ira Glasser, Steven Marcus and David J. Rothman all give innumerable examples of ways in which, in the welfare system, "power is the natural antagonist of liberty."

Precisely because responsiblity is so diffuse, the bureaucracy can be cruel, even inhumanly so. There is Karen Gibbs, who vainly stood in line for three days in the spring of 1977 when she was fourteen years old, trying to register for a CETA summer job—going back and forth between two job centers, each of whom, according to the *New York Times,* "told her she 'was out of the district,' but didn't tell her what her district was."

There is Ed Taylor, who built a home for himself on a ledge above a railroad gulch in Detroit, from materials he gathered in vacant lots. He moved into his house in September, 1979, after refusing help from Detroit's Department of Social Services, saying, "I don't mess with the welfare. Welfare causes a lot of red tape 'cause they got a lot of bums on welfare. I can make it on my own." No one knows if he's making it or not, because he disappeared after Detroit's Sanitation Department tore down his house and carted away the materials on October 15.

There is the unnamed young welfare mother in Chicago whose baby died in 1966 at the age of four days because her electricity had been turned off after the public aid department had failed to pay the bill—through a clerical error—which meant she had no refrigeration for milk. She couldn't buy fresh milk because she had literally no money: she had

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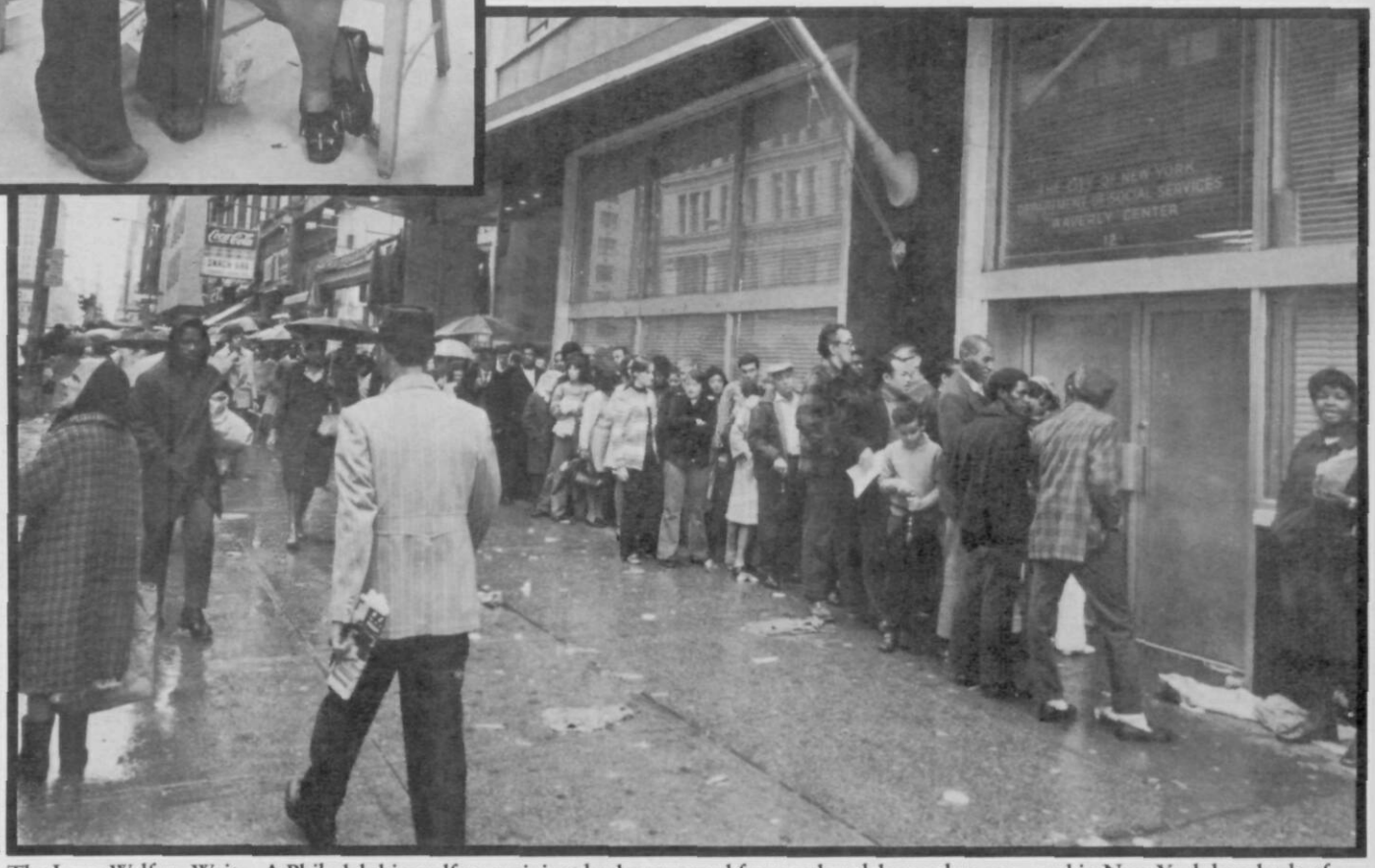
WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

"The welfare system is a stop-gap measure that makes the condition worse; it placates people without giving them what they need."



UPI

The Long Welfare Wait: A Philadelphia welfare recipient looks prepared for another delay on her case, and in New York hundreds of people stand in the rain in front of the West 14th Street office while waiting for their checks.

been underbudgeted—through a clerical error—and her check had been misaddressed—through a clerical error—and returned to the welfare office. The agency refused to give her money to feed her other two children, even after the baby's death.

And there are the more than 28 black men who died in the Tuskegee Study, sponsored by the United States Public Health Service (a division of HEW) from 1932 until well into the '70s—men who were not told that they were in an experiment but were allowed to die of untreated syphilis so that scientists could study the effects of the disease and record its progress.

Why was welfare started?

Piven and Cloward's pioneering book, *Regulating the Poor*, which was first published in 1971, sets forth the thesis that the purpose of welfare and relief has *never* been to help the poor, but rather to defuse discontent and potential rebellion and to enforce work norms. To do the latter in medieval times, it was necessary to prohibit private charity (with laws against begging and alms-giving) and to keep the poor from moving around in an attempt to better themselves (with laws against vagrancy). As early as 1349, the British Statute of Laborers was explicit in its intention to force the poor to work:

> Because that many valiant beggars, as long as they may live of begging, do refuse to labor, giving themselves to idleness and vice, and sometimes to theft and other abominations; none upon the said pain of imprisonment, shall under the color of pity or alms, give anything to such, which may labor, or presume to favor them towards their desires, so that thereby they may be compelled to labor for their necessary living.

But some sort of care had to be taken of those who couldn't work, so finally, in 1531, another act of Parliament "decreed that local officials search out and register those of the destitute deemed to be impotent, and give them a document authorizing begging. Almsgiving to others was outlawed. As for those who sought alms without authoriza-

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tion, the penalty was public whipping till the blood ran." *(Regulating the Poor.)*

Contributions for relief were also collected and administered by local officials. Then contributions were made compulsory. The monasteries were expropriated, "helping to assure secular control of charity." Finally, the Elizabethan Poor Laws were passed, establishing a tax to care for paupers (the poor rate) and requiring justices of the peace to see that paupers were put to work. Then in 1723, an act of Parliament established workhouses in which the poor had to live and work in order to receive aid. These were indeed fearsome places—only 7 percent of the infants born or taken there as foundlings survived.

The child labor in English factories that has been considered such a blight on the history of capitalism was not a matter of voluntary contract—it was pauper children that were put into the mills by government officials, in a form of "work relief," as it would be called today.

> Manufacturers negotiated regular bargains with the parish authorities, ordering lots of fifty or more children from the poorhouses. (In at least one known instance, a Lancashire manufacturer agreed to the stipulation of a London parish that he take one idiot for every twenty sound children delivered.) To secure their acquiescence, the youngsters were told that once at the cotton mills or ironmongers they would live like ladies and gentlemen on roast beef and plum pudding.
>
> ... Moreover, pauper children could be had for a bit of food and a bed, and they provided a very stable labor supply, for they were held fast at their labors by indentures, usually until they were twenty-one.... Many children did not survive the terms of their indentures. *(Regulating the Poor.)*

Laws against begging and vagrancy, the discouragement of private charity, the enforcing of work for welfare recipients, even the poorhouse, all persist today.

We still outlaw begging, and, as recently as 1937, when the state of New Jersey ran out of relief funds it issued licenses to beg, instead.

"Vagrancy," of course, is not only specifically against the law, but it was penalized further by the residency requirements that many localities imposed on welfare recipients until recently.

Modern welfare states discourage private charity mainly by competing with it. A spokesman for United Way was quoted in *The Nation* (September 29, 1979) as saying that "in our society today the needs of the poor are largely met by tax responsibility." And *Regulating the Poor* points out: "Most private social agencies had been engaged with the poor until the Depression years; then, with the development of public relief programs under the Social Security Act, and with the rapid spread of mental-hygiene concepts, many private agencies turned away from giving relief and other concrete services to the poor and began providing psychotherapy to middle-class families." As recently as 1931, according to Murray Rothbard in *America's Great Depression,* charity organizations felt strongly that government relief would be counter-productive. "In fact," he writes,

> The voluntaryist (sic) tradition was still so strong in this field that the Red Cross opposed a bill, in early 1931, to grant it $25 million for relief. The Red Cross declared that its own funds were adequate, and its Chairman told a House Committee that such a Congressional appropriation would "to a large extent destroy voluntary giving." Many local Red Cross leaders strongly opposed all federal aid, and even all public relief generally, and so the bill, after passing the Senate, was killed in the House.

In European welfare states, charitable donations are also attacked by tax policies. Taxpayers in Sweden, who pay 87 percent on incomes over $35,000 a year (as well as paying value-added taxes on consumer goods) are not allowed tax deductions for charitable contributions, nor are individual donors in Great Britain.

As for work relief, as recently as the 1960s, male welfare recipients in New York were sent to jail if they refused work offered by the Welfare Department. In April 1977, *U.S. News and World Report* published a glowing account of work relief in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, where able bodied relief applicants were offered instead "specially created" (read, *make-work*) subsidized jobs at below the minimum wage. The salaries were subsidized by the welfare budget, so "for the various government agencies involved and a few private employers, the work program means free labor." The Pay for Work people, as they were called, were replacing union members in government agencies (who had been making over twice as much per hour, plus hospitalization and a retirement plan).

The New York Times News Service sent out a story at the end of 1976 about Willie Sykes, a man in Iowa who was born in 1900, orphaned at the age of nine, sent to a school for retarded children (although he was apparently not retarded) until he was 21, and then committed to the county poorhouse, where he still was in 1976. The administrator of the poorhouse is quoted as agreeing "that the state of Iowa, in effect, sentenced Sykes to a life in institutions, thereby ruining his life," since it gave him no education or training. Poorhouses are now called "county care facilities" in Iowa, the news story reports, and "today, there are 3,900 residents of county care facilities in 72 of Iowa's 99 counties."

Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Tennessee and New Hampshire are other states in which poorhouses, usually under other names, can still be found. Piven and Cloward report in *Regulating the Poor* that, until 1934, the constitutions of Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania denied inmates of "poorhouses or other charitable institutions" the right to vote or hold office.

Welfare under the New Deal

The relief system invented in seventeenth and eighteenth century England and brought from there to the American colonies persisted in general until the '30s. In another book, *Poor People's Movements,* Piven and Cloward write that "at the time of the Great Depression the main legal arrangement for the care of the destitute was incarceration in almshouses or workhouses. In some places the care of paupers was still contracted to the lowest bidder, and destitute orphans were indentured to those who would feed them in exchange for whatever labor they could perform." Harsh as this system might sound, it was at least administered totally by local authorities. The first relief authority that operated on a statewide level was not established until the winter of 1931-32—it was New York State's Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, set up at the urging of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. The nation's first Federal relief legislation followed shortly—the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of July, 1932.

These measures, as well as the later New Deal programs of relief and public works, were instituted because of the havoc caused by the Depression. Perhaps the most generally persuasive argument for government welfare programs is what might be called the Argument from Depressions. Surely, it says, with unemployment affecting up to one-third of the work force, government help is needed for the massive numbers of people out of work through no fault of their own. According to this view, Hoover, and after him, Roose-

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THE BETTMAN ARCHIVE

"The purpose of welfare and relief has never been to help the poor, but rather to defuse discontent and potential rebellion."

THE BETTMAN ARCHIVE

Private relief agencies and many newly initiated government make-work programs tried to assist the growing numbers of people out of work, but despite (or perhaps because of) government intervention, the Depression grew worse.

velt, saved us from even worse disaster. Yet this argument is a little like an old anecdote about a woman who took her cat to the vet to be sedated before a long train trip. The vet discovered that he had given the animal a stimulant rather than a sedative, and was surprised and relieved when she telephoned him to say, "Doctor, I can't thank you enough for what you did. Why, even as it was, he ran through the train and bit three people."

Even as it was, the Depression grew steadily worse with each attempt at a government solution. As early as the spring of 1932, William A. Berridge, economist for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, warned that the proposed bills for massive public works projects "would encroach seriously, and perhaps dangerously upon the supply of capital funds that private enterprise will need in order to help the country climb out of depression again." (This was before the Emergency Relief and Construction Act was passed.) In a detailed economic history of the period from 1914 to 1946, *Economics and the Public Welfare,* the late Benjamin M. Anderson, Jr., shows that there were actually periods during the Depression when the economy was on the upswing, only to fall again with the initiation of some new government program. For instance, a strong business rally from March to July of 1933 turned downward with the establishment of the National Recovery Administration. The National Industrial Recovery Act was passed on June 17 of that year. "Businessmen suddenly realized that with the application of the NRA codes, and with the application of the processing taxes which the Agricultural Adjustment Act provided, there would come a great increase in the costs of production.... NRA and the processing taxes came in July and August, and the production curve turned sharply downward."

Furthermore, Anderson shows that there is a correlation between the level of unemployment and the attempts of the government to increase employment.

Prior to 1924 we had not regarded it as a Federal Government function to make employment. Employment was a matter for the people themselves to work out. Beginning with the Federal Reserve purchases of Government securities in 1924, we have had

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Government policy directed increasingly toward making employment. The explanation of the good figures for employment prior to 1924, and of the desperately bad figures for employment which followed 1929, is to be found in precisely this fact. Under an old-fashioned Federal Government, which, in financial matters, was concerned primarily with its own solvency and with the protection of the sound gold dollar, the people themselves solved the problem of employment amazingly well. When the Federal Government took over and undertook to solve the problem for them, grave disasters followed.

President Roosevelt inherited a terrific volume of unemployment. He did not cure it. The figures for 1933 are worse than the figures for 1932. The years 1933 to 1939, inclusive, show unemployment exceeding 9,000,000 for five years out of the seven. In only two years of the Democratic New Deal period prior to the outbreak of World War II did the annual average figure for unemployment get below 8,000,000. And in the best of these two years, namely 1937, the figure stood at 6,372,000, which is 12 percent of the labor force, as compared with 11.2 percent of the labor force in the year of extreme depression, 1921.

The historical record is damning. The New Deal, viewed as an economic policy designed to promote employment, is condemned by the historical and statistical record.

As Murray Rothbard put it in *America's Great Depression:* "Whenever government intervenes in the market, it aggravates rather than settles the problems it has set out to solve. This is a general economic law of government intervention."

Not only, as both Anderson and Rothbard show in some detail, did the New Deal economic policies prolong the Depression, many of them also directly hurt the poor. Historian Barton J. Bernstein, in his essay "The New Deal: The Conservative Achievements of Liberal Reform," says of the aftermath of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, "with benefits accruing chiefly to the larger owners, they frequently removed from production the lands of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, and 'tractored' them and hired hands off the land. In assisting agriculture, the AAA, like the NRA, sacrificed the interests of the marginal and the unrecognized to the welfare of those with greater political and economic power." Later, in the same essay, Professor Bernstein points out that "most liberals agreed with Senator Robert Wagner of New York: 'In order that the strong may not take advantage of the weak, every group must be equally strong.' His advice then seemed appropriate for organizing labor, but it neglected the problems of unrepresentative leadership and of the many millions to be left beyond organization."

Some, but not all, of those millions were put on relief. In general, the New Deal favored the large farmer, the big businessman, the established labor union leader or member, at the expense of what Professor Bernstein calls "the marginal men."

Piven and Cloward see this as a recurring pattern in our society. The two major relief explosions in the United States, one in the Depression and another in the '60s, were both initiated when there was not only widespread poverty but also widespread social turmoil. When there is no unrest among them, the poor can be safely ignored—thus the migration of southern blacks to northern cities in the '40s increased urban poverty but not urban welfare rolls. In a 1974 book, *The Politics of Turmoil,* they sum up this point of view:

> Ours is a "subsidy enterprise" economy, and the subsidies go to those who are enterprising in the use of their political influence. The low-paid alone seem not to realize this. Farmers receive wage supplements —we call them agricultural subsidies. The construction unions enjoy high incomes partly because of government subsidies to builders who are required to pay the "prevailing wage." Large numbers of middle-income people enjoy the benefits of a host of housing and transportation and tax subsidies. And these are merely a few of the items on a very long list of government giveaways, both direct and indirect, which support the standard of living of the more affluent in America. In a subsidy economy, the singular faith of the working poor in advancement through wages alone is pathetic, to say the least.

How government helps to create poverty

The solution to this situation is not, as Piven and Cloward suggest, to decide that the poor should be more "enterprising" and demand *their* subsidy—in Piven and Cloward's view, a guaranteed annual income. Rather, it is to expose and do away with the subsidies to other groups, and to recognize other interferences in the operation of the market that help to create poverty. Piven and Cloward recognize that urban renewal destroys the housing of the poor and benefits the middle class; they do not similarly speak out against rent control, which makes it impossible for landlords to earn enough return on their buildings to maintain them, especially in slum neighborhoods; and which, in conjunction with the high property taxes in many ghettos causes the abandonment of building after building to city ownership. They recognize that minimum wage laws speeded the exodus of blacks from the agricultural south, as women and children were no longer hired to do field work; but the minimum wage, as economists particularly interested in the problems of the black poor (like Thomas Sowell and Walter Williams) are beginning to publicize, reduces employment opportunity generally for low-skilled workers. In an article on black unemployment in the *New York Times* of March 11,1979, Secretary of Labor Marshall is reported as blaming much of the problem on illegal aliens. Why?

> There are those who say black leaders, trying to instill pride in black youths, also instilled an unwillingness to labor at menial jobs. The accepted view has become that aliens take the undesirable jobs that blacks, who may be on welfare, do not want to perform.
>
> But Mr. Marshall said in an interview that it was not that simple. Employers from apple-growers to housewives prefer to hire foreigners because, whether they are here illegally or hold visas, they are in no position to complain about pay or working conditions. Most blacks are American citizens with the full protection of the law.

In other words, there is work available, but apple-growers and housewives don't want to pay the minimum wage, which went up on January 1 to $3.10 an hour. So "the full protection of the law" means that many blacks are unemployed.

Another impediment that the law puts in the way of the poor who want to work are the multitude of state licensing laws that serve the same function as the old medieval guild system —they limit access to occupations. Walter E. Williams is one economist who is mounting a crusade against these laws. He is quoted in *Time* magazine (January 21, 1980) as being appalled that "roughly 600 occupations are licensed in the U.S. ... Our founding fathers thought that a man had a right to practice his trade without going to the feudal lord or the king to ask permission. But we have built the same system that our founding fathers sought to escape."

On top of all these barriers to employment, our welfare system teaches its recipients to be timid and fearful; in effect, as Thomas Sowell has said, rewarding them for failure. A recipient interviewed by Richard Elman said,

> When you want something from them you got to sit and wait all day, and if you complain they said, "You got nothing better now to do." ... When my husband was working, we had to worry all the time if he would lose his job, but those jobs ... there were always others. On the Welfare it is different. You never know if you will

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lose it, and if you lose it you lose everything.

Evalynne, who worked as a therapist for a family service agency in New York City, agrees. "Once a family goes on welfare,it will probably never get off," she says. "An inner city family, that is."

"Why is that?" she was asked. "Is it just the way the welfare department treats you, or is there also a change in your relationship with the outside society? Is it harder to get a job, or do you stop wanting one?"

"Well, it's interrelated," Evalynne says. "The teachers know that your kids are on welfare, so they don't expect anything from them. The kids may react by becoming trouble makers, and this reflects back on you. Everything you do is evaluated by a different standard —you may risk having your kids taken away from you if you send them to visit relatives, for instance. Also, it's impossible for anyone to live on a welfare budget, so you're always dealing with the workers, who treat you as if you're not human. *They* don't make distinctions between one client and another; they do everything mechanically. So *you* stop making distinctions. You become less human. I've seen clients just start to slip," she scoops her hand downward expressively, "going from being willing to fight, to giving up. The system itself blames the poor —when the rolls go down, it's not that the economy has gotten better or that people have gotten jobs; it's just that the eligibility rules have gotten tougher. The five dollars that you made now makes you ineligible."

The rural poor often eat cornstarch or suck clay to ease the pangs of hunger when they don't have enough to eat. In the same way, the welfare system is a stop-gap measure that makes the condition worse; it placates people temporarily, without giving them what they need. Conservatives, especially those with immigrant parents, often compare the struggle and hard work of pre-Depression immigrants with the lives of people on welfare today—to the disparagement of welfare recipients. What this comparison leaves out is all the ways in which government has made poverty harder to get out of, in the intervening years.

Who ends up taking care of the poor? Other poor people. The government cynically recognizes this fact in its welfare regulations and eligibility requirements. It labels a woman with five small children "employable," because she has a sister who has *six* children, who can take care of them all. It makes no arrangements for babysitting, ever, but the Aid to Dependent Children Office in Lower Manhattan had hand-lettered signs posted that read "Please Do Not Bring Children To This Office," in 1966. And when urban renewal destroys four housing units for every one that it builds, where do the people who lived in those former slums go? They make some other slum more crowded.

Deregulating the poor

When people can't buy, they make other arrangements. They barter. They trade services. They form groups to do things that otherwise they couldn't do. (That is, unless they are welfare mothers who are afraid that the social worker will think them unfit if they aren't always at home with the children, cleaning house.) In an article in the March 1979 *Commentary*, "Welfare Reform and the Liberals," Leslie Lenkowsky wrote that "finally, perhaps more than the middle class and the wealthy, the poor depend upon stable communities in order to have a chance of prospering and advancing."

Today we have the growing phenomenon of the voluntary poor—people who prefer the cameraderie and community feeling and lack of regulation of a life that emphasizes interaction with a community rather than making money. There was a time when such people primarily took religious vows—in our society they also become performers, artists, students, even back-to-nature enthusiasts. They trade services; they borrow each other's clothes and books, to say nothing of borrowing each other's money. Since their emphasis is on the quality of their life and relationships rather than on money-making activities—money is not the way they "keep score" to see how well they are doing competitively—they aren't really that concerned with the nature of their entitlement to the money they need. They may beg for it; they may apply for food stamps; they may apply for a grant from a private foundation or for a student loan. If the money is there for the asking, the question is, how onerous is the qualifying process? Not, do I have a right to it?

The involuntary poor, as we have seen, are another matter. They believe in the work ethic. It's interesting that the short-lived National Welfare Rights Organization got very little support from black organizations like the Urban League and the NAACP, most of whom wanted to get blacks *off* welfare, not on to it.

Indeed, although federal welfare programs are so many and complex that no one knows how many people are receiving what at any given time, it is generally considered by welfare experts of varying political persuasions (Michael Harrington and Martin Anderson, to pull two names out of a hat) that half the people eligible for welfare benefits never apply for them.

Piven and Cloward see such a reaction as proof that welfare is fulfilling its function of keeping the poor quiet: "That the working poor are ready to forfeit such substantial sums," they write, "is powerful testimony to the force with which the ideology of work and success, together with abhorrence of the dole, has been driven home to those who gain the least from their labor."

What can be done to reverse this disastrous system? The present trend toward libertarianism is the trend toward what F.A. Hayek has identified as spontaneous orders, self-regulatory sytems, like the market, that operate as if they were planned, but which no one individual or group of individuals could have the knowledge to plan. The first thing that has to be done therefore, is the reestablishment of community ties. It is not poverty that is the worst problem for people on welfare; it is the bureaucratically induced alienation, as we can see from the much better functioning of the voluntary poor. The first thing, then, is to encourage the rebuilding of ghetto areas by the people that live in them. And "encourage" does not mean to pour government money into slum areas—the government has done enough damage in that way already. It means allowing the homesteading of abandoned buildings. It means "sweat equities." It means drastic cutting of property taxes.

And it also means abolishing the minimum wage and the occupational licensing laws, particularly those prohibiting pushcarts and peddlers, so that there will be more jobs and people will be able to start small businesses. Jane Jacobs, author of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities,* has identified principles of city safety that can be learned from in thinking about improving the ghettos—she discovered that safe streets are streets that are bordered with a wide diversity of usages (which means that they are bordered by buildings of different sizes and ages) with a high density of population and a high ratio of ground coverage. These are, to use her phrase, streets that have "eyes" on them all the time, because the different usages take place at different hours. She has also pointed out that the usual housing project is a miniature city standing on its side, whose "streets" are corridors and elevators which are unobserved and therefore *not* safe.

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Jacobs's account of the rehabilitation of Boston's North End, after it had been "redlined" by banks as a slum, points the way to the possible reclaiming of real slums.

> The largest mortgage loans that had been fed into this district of some 15,000 people in the quarter-century since the Great Depression were for $3,000, the banker told me, "and very, very few of those." There had been some others for $1,000 and for $2,000. The rehabilitation work had been almost entirely financed by business and housing earnings within the district, plowed back in, and by skilled work bartered among residents and relatives of residents.

There are already businesses which have found it to their advantage to experiment with innovative training programs and work schedules, which in turn provide expanded opportunities to the low-skilled worker. A 1978 book by David Robison, *Training and Jobs Programs in Action*, published by the committee for Economic Development in cooperation with Work in America Institute lists, among others, some interesting programs that accept no government subsidies (subsidized training is generally inefficient, because it is not aimed at profit). The Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company, for instance, has a program of work-study jobs, in which local highschool seniors are allowed by the school system to reschedule their classes so that they can work part-time at the bank. They have a better attendance record than other employees and are rated "somewhat superior in job performance," and those that later join the bank as full-time employees cost the company less per hire than other methods of recruiting. Sears, Roebuck has a company-wide policy of employing handicapped workers, in a program run by a rehabilitation specialist who is himself blind. From 3 to 11 percent of the employees in any Sears facility "have some disability that would qualify them for state rehabilitation services."

And Control Data has opened several innovative plants, all of which stress profitability. They located one in an inner-city, high-unemployment, low-income area of Minneapolis, where they selected employees on a "first-come first-hired" basis, many of whom were female heads of households that lacked a twelfth grade education. Although it began as a training center, the plant is now operating profitably. Another plant, "in the economically distressed Selby-Dale area of Saint Paul, Minnesota," is the first entirely part-time facility in the country, designed "to supply part-time employment primarily for female heads of households and mothers with school-age children and secondarily to neighborhood students." Most of the employees live close by, and absenteeism is very low. The plant is a bindery, and the manager points out that "using part-time workers is efficient. No one can collate well for more than five hours at a time, which is all we schedule. Most people are less productive in their sixth to eighth hours of a workday." Because the bindery is so efficient, it is saving Control Data money: "Before the Selby facility was established, it cost Control Data nearly twice as much to have similar services performed by outside businesses." A third successful Control Data plant is in a rural strip-mining area in Kentucky. It found an excellent pool of workers, some of whom travel twelve to eighteen miles to work, and is described by its manager as "a superb operation in terms of productivity, low-absenteeism, and a strong work ethic."

Any lowering of capital gains taxation will free investment capital and make experimental plants such as these more attractive to other businesses. A *Wall Street Journal* editorial on June 9, 1978, said that "the major obstacle to black capitalism is no longer racial discrimination but the tax and regulatory structure." Citing black support for the Steiger amendment to cut capital gains taxes, it went on to say that "those black leaders who still believe black enterprise can only be built via government subsidies or contract favoritism have a pleasant surprise coming. There is a vast population of talented, educated and adventurous blacks bottled up in corporate America for want of venture capital. They will be freed if only we can change the rules to get the train moving again." Since ethnic groups historically have prospered by starting businesses and hiring their own members, we can expect expanding black enterprise to have a beneficial effect on black unemployment.

The poor are being offered only the false alternatives of public welfare or public jobs, both of which have been used throughout the history of industrial societies to regulate the poor and keep them from bettering their lot. The very need for welfare as we now know it was created by government. Government laws and regulations such as minimum wage laws, the licensing of occupations and businesses, and labor laws all discriminate against the disadvantaged by reducing their opportunities for employment. Indeed, in 1948, before much of this legislation proliferated, black male teenagers experienced less unemployment than their white counterparts.

Today, after more than a generation of government programs to supposedly benefit the disadvantaged, black teenage unemployment has risen to a shocking 40 percent. Yet why is anyone surprised? In the words of Walter E. Williams, "Many analysts believe that market-entry regulations are *political* acts that have made it increasingly difficult for the black underclass to enter the mainstream of American society."

Although more than half the people on welfare rolls are white, it is the "black underclass" that stays on welfare for generations, that is herded into neglected ghetto areas in deteriorating inner cities, and that is the impetus for schemes to expand the welfare octopus. The statement issued by Clark R. Watson, chairman of the American Association of Blacks in Energy, which was issued in February of 1978 is perhaps even more relevant today.

> Federal schemes to assist minorities such as the War on Poverty, Model Cities and the like failed dismally. They failed because they perceived minorities as necessarily and perpetually poor. Secondly, they failed because beyond lip-service the government has not really been dedicated to eradicating poverty. ... AABE does not look to platitudes, promises and traditional ties. Rather, the organization looks solely at the bottom line, at the marketplace and what it has done and can do for black folks. Neither Republicans nor Democrats buy groceries, only dollars do. If it so happens that the private sector operating in a free market (which in this case accurately implies deregulation) offers greater visible, measurable salvation for blacks than we have experienced and are experiencing with government, that is what we support. ... The fact that certain national organizations purporting to represent blacks in service or elected capacities cannot appreciate these rather simple dynamics and continue to rely on advice from outside the black community is tragic. Advice, I might add, which usually comes from persons whose careers are dependent on welfare/socialism type of programs and who feel threatened at what they see as an eroding source of power—their "poor minorities."

The bureaucrats want us to believe that they are absolutely necessary to the functioning of the political system, and nowhere are they more entrenched than in welfare. The truth is that if it were politically feasible we would do better for both the poor and the taxpayer if we deregulated the poor in the ways I have outlined and then closed down the entire system, giving everyone involved, employees and recipients alike, two months pay in lieu of notice.

But it's not likely to happen tomorrow. Welfare is the bureaucrats' last ditch stand. ❑

Joan Kennedy Taylor is the Senior Editor of *LR*.

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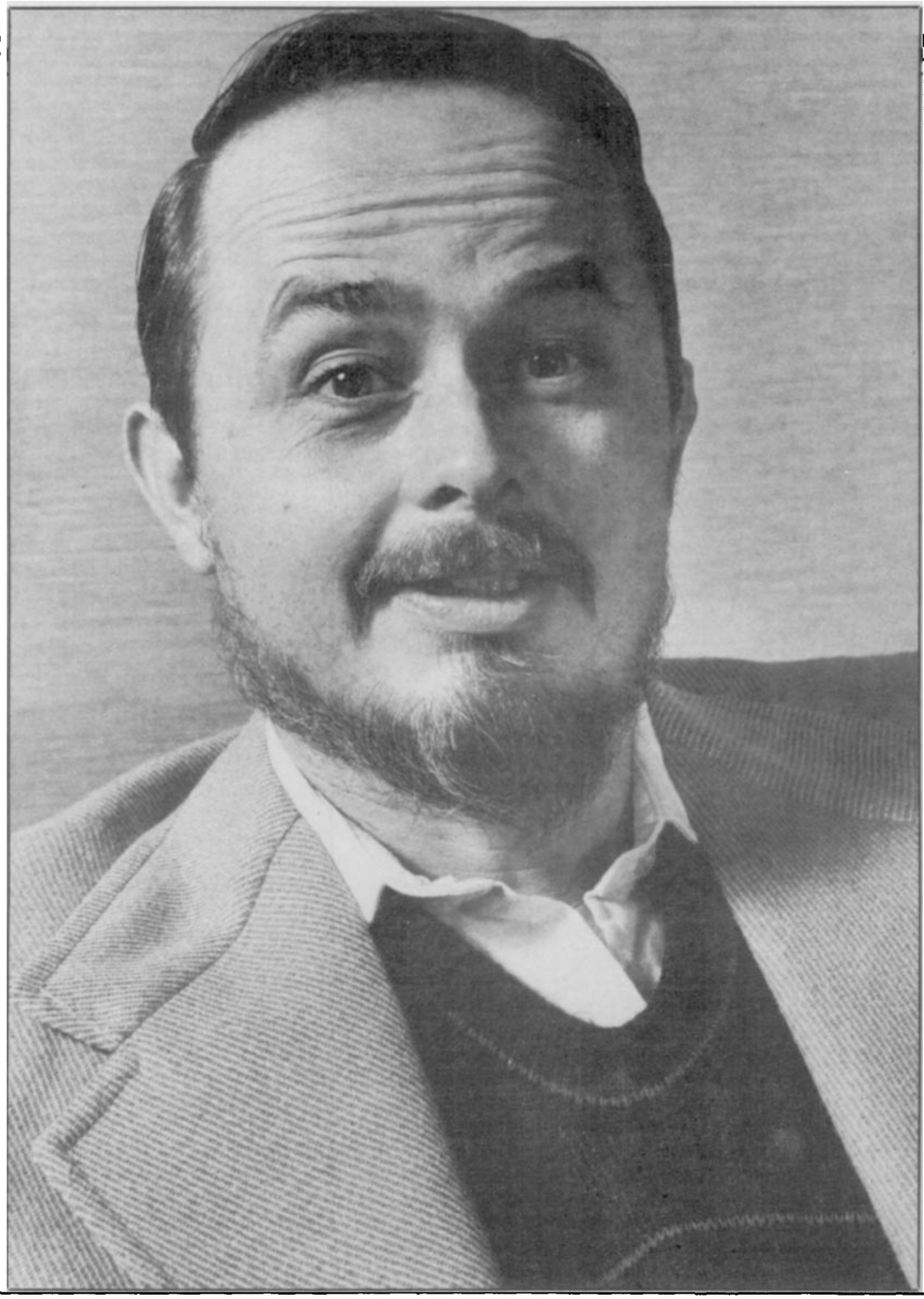
Joel Spring on the Education Monopoly



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AN LR INTERVIEW

When President Carter signed the bill which created the new Cabinet-level Department of Education this past October, you could hear the groans and the snorts of derision from coast to coast. The *New York Times* editorialized that "the supporters of a separate department speak vaguely of the need for a Federal policy on education. We believe that they misunderstand the nature of American education, which is characterized by diversity." Congressman John Erlenborn (R-IL) of the House Committee on Government Operations, which has jurisdiction over such government reorganization, commented in the same newspaper that "a Department of Education, by its nature, would not be likely to give power to make decisions back to the local areas. It is far more likely to attempt to increase categorical aid programs with all their attendant rules, regulations and paperwork that would make local school boards little more than entities to certify Federal forms." And Stanford University President Richard Lyman dismissed the new Department as badly out of sync with the real educational values of most Americans: "The 200-year absence of a department of education," he said, "is not the result of simple failure to notice that virtually every other nation has one. It derives from the conviction that we do not want the kind of educational systems that such arrangements produce."

About the only place you could find anyone saying anything good about the new Department was in the inner recesses of the National Education Association, the teachers' lobby which had paid the President in advance for the new Cabinet post with an endorsement and several million members' votes in the 1976 election. The NEA, needless to say, was delighted. "We're the only union with our own Cabinet department," an NEA official was quoted as boasting to a *Newsweek* reporter in November. But almost everyone else was dubious—even other members of the federal bureaucracy. Of course, the bureaucrats who opposed the new Department were concerned more with losing programs than with losing freedoms. As *Newsweek* reported, "agencies outside the Office of Education that run school-related programs—the Department of Agriculture's school-lunch operation, for instance—recoiled at surrendering their programs."

Ultimately, they didn't have to. The Department of Agriculture kept its school-lunch program. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the Department of Health and Human Services) kept its Head Start program. Yet even without these large, money-guzzling programs under its umbrella, the new Department of Education is a $14-billion, 18,000-employee behemoth, larger than the State Department, the Departments of Justice, Commerce, and the Interior, and even that mammoth albatross among federal agencies, the Department of Energy. And while much of the outcry which has greeted the creation of this new bureaucratic monster has been in the name of economy in government and the intrinsic beauty of decentralization, very little attention has been paid to the history which lies behind the monster—the mistakes in American education policy over the past century which have made this newest boondoggle virtually inevitable.

In the belief that a little time spent reviewing those mistakes—and the mistaken doctrines which lay behind them—might help us to refrain from committing them again in the future, *LR* dispatched contributing editor Milton Mueller to discuss the subject with one of today's leading authorities on educational history, Joel Spring.

At 40, Spring is the author of no less than two of the major texts produced thus far by the movement of historical revisionism which first became influential in educational circles during the 1960s: *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State* (1972), which traces the remaking of America's public schools into sorting institutions designed to supply the military-industrial complex with the obedient workers it needs, and *The Sorting Machine* (1976), which describes the continuation of this process into our own era. He is also the author of a third, lesser known, volume, *A Primer of Libertarian Education* (1975), which traces the develop-

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"If the power of choice had been given to the poor, they would be receiving a far superior education."

NEIL HEILPERN

ment of an entirely different, liberating tradition in educational theory. He has taught at Cleveland's Case Western Reserve University and is currently a Professor of Education at the University of Cincinnati.

Spring seemed not only the ideal interviewee to fill in the background behind the new Department of Education (and to explain the grimly funny appropriateness of the Carter administration's decision to house the new Department in an obsolete military building), but also the ideal interviewee to press beyond the usual libertarian case against tax-funded schools and assess the role played by schools—whether public or private—in the life of our society. Accordingly, we began our conversation with a question about this larger picture of the social role of schooling.

LR: You've said that most libertarians don't really understand the importance of education. Why?

Spring: Most libertarians keep their discussions of education pretty superficial. They're mainly concerned with the advantages of private vs. public schooling—which *is* an important issue. What's superficial about it is the lack of importance given the educational *system* of which both public and private schools are a part. You see, if libertarians consider *choice* the key to being free, and if we look at the methods of coercion in a society, then education is coercive not only because it forces you to send your child to public school, but also because public schooling—and much private schooling too—is designed to control *ideology* or *ideas*—the very basis upon which people make choices.

Now, when you talk about control of ideology, it's important to understand that public schooling did not result from the demands of a strong popular movement. The historical apologists for public schooling like to give the impression that workers and common people wanted state schooling, but in reality people weren't too happy with the idea. For one thing, there were significant religious differences among people in the early nineteenth century. Presbyterians couldn't imagine going to school with Baptists; there was a fundamental conflict over what should be taught in school. In fact, the rise of the public school, not only in the U.S. but also in other Western societies, was characterized in all cases by a desire on the part of a ruling elite to shape particular kinds of citizens.

LR: Certainly we used to see very blatant indoctrination in the schools, for example the Pledge of Allegiance. But aren't schools pretty bland in their content today? How do they "shape citizens" now?

Spring: There *is* a big difference between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the nineteenth century you can see the emphasis on political indoctrination—flag waving, reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, marching around, and reading patriotic stories in textbooks. That tradition continued into the twentieth century and you still find it in the schools.

But patriotism is no longer emphasized. The emphasis now is on producing students who have a low level of economic and political consciousness. What is taught in the schools is reflective of a corporate-liberal ideology which teaches individuals to accept an economic position in society and to serve society rather than be active, self-sustaining citizens.

LR: Can you give some specific examples of how the schools do that?

Spring: It's done in several ways. There's the content of what students learn, the textbooks. There is the social life of the school, the way it's organized. And there are the general purposes and goals given to the school. For instance, the purpose which has been given to schools in the twentieth century is to turn out people who will serve particular economic roles in society. And this is done in the school through a system of tracking, ability grouping, and the use of standardized tests which are specifically designed to sort students out for the labor market. Competition for economic opportunity takes place *within the school,* rather than in the market, and afterwards the students are sorted out for their particular slots in society.

Sorting the student within the school is done under the control of experts and professionals within the educational bureaucracy. Obviously, the school itself is primarily controlled by that group of professionals, and the ideology that they naturally teach within the school is one which they feel is supportive of their position. Their position is supported financially by the government, and is supported ideologically by the belief that somehow they are helping the poor by spreading social welfare programs through the school. So professional school people tend to be wedded to the corporate-liberal ideology of the twentieth century, which they then reproduce through the school system.

The school system itself is reflective of that corporate ideology; it is a social institution which attempts to act in a positive fashion to direct people's careers and lives. Beginning in the early 1970s with career education, for example, it has been federal policy to decrease the amount of general education received and re-orient most education toward finding some future job. That means that knowledge is structured for the individual not in terms of political power, not in terms of protection or getting of political rights, but

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in terms of getting a job.

LR: You've mentioned the experts and professionals who make most of the decisions in the school system. Who are these experts? Where do they come from?

Spring: I don't want to give the picture of a monolithic structure of professionals, because there is a lot of internal conflict, and there are a lot of layers. Where do they come from? The best way to answer that is to give a brief history of the school bureaucracy.

In the early part of the twentieth century, if you were to identify the closest thing to a set of national educational policy makers—in the sense of issuing statements about what curriculum should be—it was the National Educational Association. The NEA, controlled mainly by college professors and local and state superintendents of education, was very important in the early part of the twentieth century. Its influence began in the 1890s, when progressive reformers began to speak of the ideology of democratic elitism—the idea that the average person really didn't know what was in the best interest of his child. Only the most successful and best educated members of society should be on school boards, therefore, because they knew what was best for children. School board elections were deliberately restructured so that only certain successful members of the community would get on the school boards. This was done by centralizing school elections, by making the elections nonpartisan, and by consolidating the schools in rural areas. There was a shift in the social class of the school board official, moving from local Ward politicians and other community figures to successful businessmen and upper class reformers.

"The best" were thus going to control the schools; but they were really going to limit themselves to general policy statements and leave the real power in the hands of the experts and professionals who would be trained in the rapidly expanding colleges of education. So in the twentieth century you see a rapid increase in the Educational Administration courses. Thus while the school boards represent the business and professional class, they really shift more and more of the functions of running schools over to the professionals who surround the Superintendent, and the Superintendent becomes an extremely powerful figure. Previously, elected school board members visited individual schools and even gave examinations to students and teachers; they had very personal contact. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the school board no longer did that; the administrative staff did it and therefore controlled the gathering of such information.

Then after World War II, professional control on both the local and national level came under attack because of an argument that the schools were the weak link in our chain of defense against the Soviet Union—that the professional educators had ruined the schools by making them anti-intellectual. The federal government, under pressure from the scientific-military-industrial complex which had grown up during the war, began to assert that if we were going to win the arms race with the Soviet Union we were going to have to produce more mathematicians and scientists. And to do that we were going to have to break the hold of the professional educators on the public schools—the government said that very specifically.

LR: Why were professional educators less intellectually oriented? One might think they would be the *most* intellectually oriented.

Spring: Well, what happened was that during the 1920s and '30s, colleges of education began placing more and more emphasis on shaping the personality. In fact, when they came up with the idea of the comprehensive high school, the two most important reasons offered for it were training students for economic efficiency, as it was called, and for "social efficiency." Training for "social efficiency" meant shaping the personality of the student within the school so he would "fit in." Extracurricular activities took on a great deal of importance during the 1920s because they were viewed as a way of shaping the individual for service to society. This was the first great era of school spirit, football, and so on. Then, after the Depression began, there wasn't much stress on finding people jobs, because there weren't any; so the socializing programs which had been initiated in the 1920s began to be emphasized more and more during the '30s.

By the 1940s, "life adjustment" education had become very popular. And it was this trend in education that then came under attack. It was a real trend in education by then, and it stemmed from the actions of professional educators.

LR: So even the little things people take for granted about the high school—football teams, school spirit, the little films on how to brush your teeth—were all the results of conscious policies made by a particular group at a particular time.

Spring: If anyone were to sit back and think about it, it would seem logical that that's what happened. So the military argued that the federal government should step in and take a lot of the power away from the professional educators, and this was done in the latter part of the 1950s with the new science and math curriculums developed by

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"Emphasis is on producing students who have a low level of economic and political consciousness."

NEIL HEILPERN

the federal government and with the passage of the National Defense Education Act, a major federal bill, in the latter part of the 1950s. Eisenhower even went around the country talking about how we had to prepare students for the missile age.

Now, during the 1960s, federal involvement in the schools expanded again, due to the War on Poverty programs. This time, local professional educators came under attack not so much for making the schools non-academic as for being racist and against the poor. Again the federal government was going to step in and turn the schools around. In response to charges that the feds were doing away with local control, they passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which provided money for the expansion of state Departments of Education. This created a level of bureaucracy at the state level which hadn't existed before. What's interesting is that it was *not* a product of state governments *wanting* to expand their education departments; it was a product of the federal government making the money available. The state Departments of Education were then used as conduits for federally conceived and funded programs.

And then in the 1970s, this long-lived antagonism between the federal government and professional educators ceased to exist. The professional organizations and the feds began working together very, very closely—leading to even greater centralization and national control over education.

LR: The 1968-69 crisis in the New York City schools seems to have been a real watershed in this centralization process. The battle over community control in the black Ocean Hill-Brownsville Junior High Schools brought together all the various power elites and interest groups in one big conflict: the teachers' union, the federal government, and the local New York City School Board, not to mention the parents and children using the schools. Racial conflict, too, figured prominently in this battle. Can you discuss Ocean Hill-Brownsville?

Spring: In order to understand Ocean Hill-Brownsville, you have to back up a little bit to one of the most interesting parts of the 1960s War on Poverty programs. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 mandated that all programs had to have "maximum feasible participation." In the early '60s sociologists were arguing that the reason we had poor people in this country was that the opportunities that had existed in previous generations no longer existed; the *opportunity structure* wasn't there. If you had "maximum feasible participation" in the War on Poverty programs, it was thought, that would be an opportunity structure by which people could train themselves to move up the social ladder. Of course, the idea that the poor would really *control* this political structure was unthinkable; one of its purposes was social manipulation. But by the latter part of the 1960s, the poor had come upon the idea of controlling their communities and schools. With the concept of maximum feasible participation, it was natural under federal programs to have parent advisory groups, particularly in minority areas. To the poor, the logical next step after parent advisory groups was community control of education.

At the same time, a related development was taking place. The original 1954 school desegregation decision by the Supreme Court rested on the idea that segregated schools were inherently unequal. In the minds of some black leaders, this implied that blacks had to go to school with whites if they were ever to receive equal education. But by the end of the '60s, black community groups had begun to argue, "Hey, we're not getting anywhere with school integration; what we were really concerned about in the South and even the North was that segregated schooling meant *inferior* schooling—black schools were overcrowded and didn't have as much money. We didn't necessarily want our children to go to school with whites, we just wanted good schools. So give us the money and we'll run our own schools." The whole movement for community control grew partly out of that.

This community control concept began in New York in Brownsville, which became an experimental school in a black community. Immediately, the experiment ran up against the major defenders of maximizing the extent of public schooling: the teachers' union. In New York, the teachers' union was controlled by Albert Shanker, now head of the American Federation of Teachers.

Community control threatens the existing power structure in several ways. First, when black communities control their own schools they want to get rid of racist teachers. In these New York schools we were dealing with 90 percent white teachers and 90 percent black students. And many of the teachers were identifiable as out and out racists. Consequently, the community groups wanted to get rid of certain teachers. The teachers' union became very upset about that. But there was an even more important element. The way unions are organized, it's easier for them to bargain with one large, monopolistic unit than with small, individual units, and in New York City if the schools had become decentralized it would have broken Shanker's power. He would have been reduced to the head of a little local district. Also, the unions recoiled from the idea of having to bargain with parents.

The community control people also wanted to control the way the money was spent. And this brought up the whole

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issue of unions within the city, many of which were all white. The neighborhood black people wanted to hire from black unions, or else hire non-union people. So the local trade unions in New York started backing Shanker in his attempt to defeat community control. It was a threat not only to Shanker, but also to the other unions in the city, and to any idea of maintaining a centralized administration over city schools.

LR: Oddly enough, in this instance the federal government —and even more bizarre, the Ford Foundation—favored *de*centralization. How do you explain that?

Spring: At that time, there was still this long-standing conflict between the federal government and local professional educators, dating back to the '40s and '50s. The antagonism still existed. And the people in the federal War on Poverty programs were much the same as those in the large foundations like Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie. The foundation people moved in and out of the federal government. It was believed, and probably rightly, that the local schools were responsible for maintaining poverty and institutionalized racism, so the federal and foundation people saw their jobs as changing those schools. They were working in conflict with local policies. You had several levels of bureaucracy hitting each other.

LR: So what was the final shakedown in Brownsville and the whole New York City decentralization fight?

Spring: What eventually happened was the big teachers' strike in New York City. And Shanker won. Shanker's victory has had great importance to the future of education in the United States. Shanker became a national power in the teachers' union at a time when there were more and more strikes occurring throughout the country. This was a great victory for Shanker. It also meant the death of any experiment in community control. People within the federal government and the foundations no longer believe that they can fight back—nor do they want to. The teachers' unions say, "Look, if you do anything like that again, we're going to work against you politically when you run for office." And Shanker's power was demonstrated when the tuition tax credit was proposed; he moved his lobbying machine into Washington and defeated it. As a result, the final shakedown was the destruction of community control, the rise of Albert Shanker, a decrease in any federal policy that might be antagonistic to Shanker and other powerful unions —and a closer working relationship between the professional education organizations and the federal government. If you can't lick 'em, join 'em. A greater centralization of power.

And there have been several outgrowths of that greater centralization. In the last election Jimmy Carter agreed to do two things. One was to create Teacher Centers, as desired by the AFT; the other was to create a new Department of Education, separate from HEW, as desired by the NEA. Well, Teachers Centers have come into existence, and the AFT has been given government money to distribute information on teaching methods, and research and knowledge about education. And the Department of Education has been created by Congress, bringing the final touch to the centralization of educational control in this country.

Now a lot of people will say you don't really have to worry about the federal government. The federal government doesn't come into San Francisco and tell the teacher what to do day by day. The federal government doesn't go into Des Moines and regiment the classroom. And in fact the federal government provides only 8 percent of the budget at the local school level. But that sort of analysis is a little bit too superficial.

What the federal government does with its 8 percent is provide aid in support of only certain types of programs. And by way of this carrot, the money, it can get the schools to rush into whatever it wants. The result ultimately is that federal government is not only in a position to control the information being *distributed* in the schools, but also in a position to control how information will be *produced* in our society.

LR: How exactly does government control the production of knowledge?

Spring: One of the ways you control knowledge is by controlling the economic incentives to do certain types of work. For instance, following the establishment of the National Science Foundation in 1950, the federal government announced that it was primarily interested in expanding the area of science and mathematics, as a way of pursuing research in military weaponry. Now scholars—like other people—are interested in money. And the way the university system works is that if you don't get tenure in five years or six years, you lose your job—and the way you get tenure in a university is by doing research. It's very helpful if you can do your research while getting paid for it. So if the federal government comes along and announces that it is offering grants for weapons research and your local scholar has never heard of weapons research before, for obvious reasons he *finds out* about weapons research.

It's done in the universities all the time. At Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, where I used to teach, they had teams that would fly to Washington each year to find

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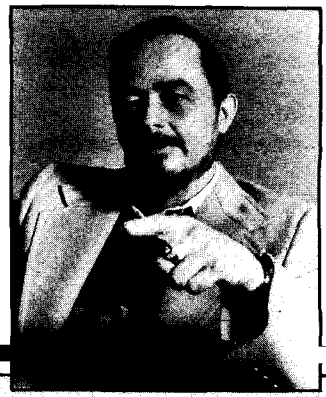
"Public schools have promoted institutional racism and stifled social mobility for the poor."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out what the federal government would be financing that year. They would fly to Washington and they would meet with staff members of the bureaucracy who would tell them what they were funding that year, and they would bring that information back with them. The universities publish bulletins about what will be funded, and provide information on whom to contact. At Case they met with the faculty at faculty meetings to tell what to apply for. At a university when you go to write a research grant you usually call up a friend or someone in Washington to find out how it should be written so you can be sure of funding.

Actually it's even more insidious than it sounds. A book called *Research for Tomorrow,* a publication of the American Academy of Education, describes the entire process, and it's a very interesting one. When money becomes available, say through the Defense Department, for a particular area of research, maybe a particular area of weaponry, there may be no scholars in that area, or anyone doing work on it. But word gets out fast that the federal government is looking for people. Let's say a few people start applying for the grants—four or five people who had never heard of the area before. They start doing research in that area, and a series of things begins to happen. One is that the federal agency itself needs people to read and evaluate those grant proposals, and future proposals. So if you apply for a grant and get one, the agency will start sending *you* grant proposals to evaluate. They turn to the original people to whom they gave grants, and they use this group to decide who will be doing research in an area they created in the first place. And what develops is, in some ways, a government-privileged old-boy network.

But not only does government create whole bodies of knowledge, it also develops interest groups that will start lobbying for further funding from the federal government. Because they are receiving money for what they are doing, they are often able to attract graduate students to study under them. Once they have graduate students, they can have them do research in the area, or something related to it. And all of a sudden we begin to see these areas of knowledge expanding and multiplying, first in terms of papers given at conventions, then in terms of attracting students who become specialists and take jobs in other universities, writing articles and publishing books.

LR: Obviously government exerts a major influence over the *production* of knowledge in our society. And you say government also controls its *distribution?*

Spring: The federal government is very conscious of the whole problem of the distribution of knowledge; it is not being done in a naive fashion. The bureaucrats call it *dissemination.* Since the 1960s, dissemination has been a major concern of federal education policy. One of the outgrowths of their dissemination program is a completely computerized national library system for educational materials. Another is a set of techniques for influencing how and what teachers teach.

The National Institute of Education is the federal agency responsible for basic research in education—and a great deal of its budget is devoted to the dissemination of knowledge. NIE uses a number of techniques, one of which is grants. People may not have heard of career education, but if the federal government announces that it's going to give grants for career education, people will rush and find out about it. Also, if you look through educational journals, you can identify many journal articles as a direct product of government-sponsored research, or maybe the next stage of that research, so there is a dispersal process throughout the professional world. Teacher Centers are also a way of disseminating knowledge, and right now the federal government is establishing these centers around the country to bring teachers together to share information and knowledge about how to teach.

The textbook industry is relatively free from direct government control—but there is an awful lot of indirect control. At one end, as I've shown, the government controls what knowledge is going to be there when the textbook industry hires people to write their books. And when the textbook publishers turn around to sell their books to the public schools, they face a monopoly situation. Instead of choices being made by individuals, or by individual schools, we have almost a national set of textbook purchasing laws. These laws are the result of the graft that existed in the textbook industry in the 1920s, when textbook companies actually selected Superintendents of schools and jumped into school board politics so they could get their textbooks adopted. Today, most states have a law that they will not pay a price for a textbook that is any higher than the lowest price paid for that textbook by any other state in the country. Many states, Texas and California for instance, have statewide adoption of textbooks, and all states have a uniform selection list for texts. This centralized selection strongly affects what's going to be in the textbooks. The publisher, in order to be able to dump his product into a politically guaranteed, statewide market will make the books as inoffensive as possible, particularly if the subject is social studies. This is why social studies texts all have that special kind of blandness. Random House once picked up a book on the history of Mississippi which portrayed minority groups in a very positive way, but the State of Mississippi wouldn't approve the book. So Random House sits with a whole warehouse full of these books, even though many local districts and parents might choose it if they could.

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I had a graduate student in Cleveland who did a study of the rise of the public school and its relationship to the textbook industry in Ohio. Cincinnati in the nineteenth century was the home of the McGuffey Readers, and one of the major publishing centers in the country. She found that no one in the state of Ohio really supported the idea of a comprehensive public school system —except for one group: the textbook publishers, who distributed free journals all over the state strongly advocating a common school system. She went through the correspondence of these publishers, and found that they viewed the establishment of a uniform, comprehensive school system as a way of getting a guaranteed market for a graded series of textbooks.

LR: As you noted before, the trend toward centralization of control in education has finally culminated in a national Department of Education. Wasn't something like this proposed right after the founding of this nation—and rejected?

Spring: Yes. There were a number of proposals made right after the American Revolution calling for national boards of education with even greater powers than today's Department of Education. They would have established a uniform set of textbooks, a uniform curriculum, and would even have selected scholars and artists to be supported with government money. It was part of a nationalistic desire to shape a "national culture" and sort of an American aristocracy. But they were never seriously considered. Such ideas were considered to be outlandish—and rightly so, considering that Americans had just fought a revolution for freedom of thought and freedom of speech. At that time, Americans understood the contradiction between freedom of thought and state control of education—although they seem to have totally lost that insight in the years since.

LR: Many people would probably agree that it's pretty hideous to have the federal government and the military controlling our education system. But some say getting the state out of education would simply mean putting it in the hands of the big corporations. Since corporations control large amounts of money, wouldn't they control the production and distribution of knowledge, and shape it according to their own ends, the same way the government does now?

Spring: In a free society, the most important choice that people can make is which type of ideas they want themselves and their children to be exposed to. If you believe that the progress of society is dependent upon the free interplay of ideas, if you believe that the best ideas can only be determined by free choice and not by an elite sitting in government, then you have to sharply separate education from the state and open it up completely.

Right now, the state forces you to go to a public school. And that coercive power stems from the fact that it taxes you and then returns that tax through the school system, a massive system of bureaucracy and control which you *have* to use unless you have enough money left after taxes to go somewhere else.

Now, could the corporations come to control ideas? Certainly major corporations would be interested in promoting their ideas about society. You see advertising all the time from companies like Mobil Oil promoting certain political and economic concepts. But that is very, very different from controlling a huge, coercive political structure with the right to put you in jail and take your child away if you aren't obedient to it. No corporation can do that; if one tried, it would immediately be recognized as criminal. No corporation, no matter how big, could get away with taxing people, either. I'm not forced to read Mobil ads, but if I'm in a public school and the teacher assigns me one to write an essay on, I am forced.

In a society that is completely free, everyone is going to try to influence everyone else, but the determination of which ideas are most valued should be in the hands of the individual. That way, the ideas serve the individual rather than a political structure or a ruling elite.

LR: What do you think of the argument that the problem with just getting the state out of education and opening it up to free choice is that under that kind of a system, poor people and oppressed minorities would get the short end of the education stick? They'd be in no position to really choose the kind of education they need, would they?

Spring: That's the argument of democratic elitism, that the people don't know what is in their best interest. And that kind of apology for power is directly responsible for the mess we are in now. What have the public schools done for poor minorities in this country? They've promoted institutional racism and stifled social mobility. Without question, if the power of choice over their education had been in the hands of the poor and minorities, they would be receiving a far superior education than they have in the past.

It's true that if we went immediately to a system without any government involvement in education, many people—not all of them poor—would not know what to do at first. A lot of self-education would have to take place. People aren't used to making choices in that area yet, although people make choices every day about more complicated things, like buying food. I'm sure that given some time to think about it, people would make intelligent choices. They could hardly do worse than the government.

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De-Mythologizing the Soviet Menace

BRUCE BARTLETT

With the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops the right-wingers are all saying "I told you so," trotting out all the worn out anti-Communist rhetoric and gleefully calling for a return to the Cold War (see, for example, Richard Whalen's article in the *Washington Post,* January 20, 1980). Although on the surface it may appear that the Soviets have launched the first phase of a drive toward the Persian Gulf, threatening our vital oil supplies, there is another side to the story. It may be that the Soviet invasion is less an indication of Soviet strength than of Soviet weakness. As Arthur Schlesinger wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* recently; "Our hard-liners like to think that the Soviet Union is a dynamic and purposeful state following a policy laid down with consistency, foresight and coherence. But it may as well be that the Soviet Union is a weary, drab country, led by sick old men, beset by insuperable problems at home and abroad and living from crisis to crisis. It may well have invaded Afghanistan out of weakness, not out of strength, for reasons that are essentially defensive rather than aggressive, local rather than global, despairing rather than joyously premeditated." (January 18, 1980)

There is ample evidence to suggest that Schlesinger is right, that the Soviet Union is a nation with serious problems. Indeed, its adventurism and aggression abroad are more usefully seen as a means of turning the Soviet peoples' attention away from problems at home, than as a part of an overall Communist conspiracy. As Shakespeare wrote in *Henry IV,* "Be it thy course, to

A major portion of Soviet armed forces is constantly deployed to guard against invasion, as here in Siberia.

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busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels: that action, hence borne out, may waste the memory of the former days."

The Soviet Union's most long-standing problem is economic. The Soviet economy is barely growing at all, even by its own standards of measurement. According to the latest Soviet figures industrial output grew only 3.4 percent in 1979, compared to a planned growth rate of 5.7 percent. Its capital stock is falling apart, agriculture is a disaster, the economy is desperately in need of new technology and innovation, and it faces serious shortages of energy and raw materials in the 1980s. On top of this there is a serious labor shortage and growing demands by Soviet consumers which cannot be fulfilled.

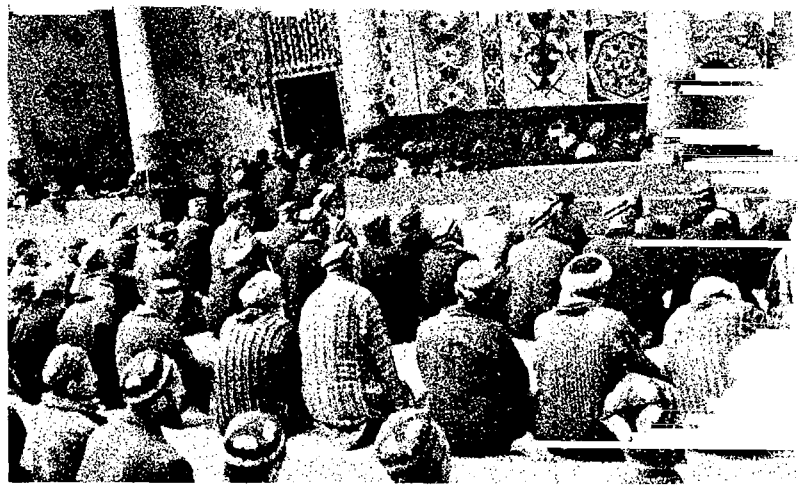
Under Stalin the Soviet economy gave the appearance of rapid growth. This was due to the fact that Stalin directed all his efforts toward building up highly visible heavy industry, and because the Soviet Union was able to borrow heavily from the West in terms of both technology and capital. But the economy today is still operating on the base built by Stalin. Virtually nothing has changed in almost 30 years, except in those areas where high priorities have been set without regard to cost, such as in military hardware or the space program. (For a fascinating look at how the Soviet Union was able to achieve its space program successes by concentrating all its efforts on the short run, for political purposes, while ultimately losing out in the long run as a result, see Leonid Vladimirov, *The Russian Space Bluff.*)

The Soviet Union certainly has its share of brilliant scientists and can accomplish a great deal in specific areas when the state-controlled economy is directed toward a single goal. But more and more the Soviets are bumping up against the limits of their own technological and economic base. Consider computers. The Soviet Union no doubt has scientists who know as much about computers as anyone in the West, yet they cannot manufacture a computer which is anywhere close to the quality of those made by IBM. The reason is that the Soviets do not have the technological or industrial infrastructure to manufacture such computers even if they do know how.

This situation is not likely to change because the Soviet Union cannot dismantle its system of controls and perverse incentives without running grave political risks. As *The Economist* recently put it, "any real change might fuel demands for yet more extensive reforms, including political ones. A powerful alliance of interests in the Soviet Union supports the status quo."

The main barrier to change in the Soviet Union, as everywhere, is the bureaucracy. To cite one example of how it operates to stifle innovation and productivity, consider the case of Hambartsum Khlgatian. Khlgatian was sent to work in an Armenian pump factory. He produced pump shafts and was paid 32 kopecks per shaft. Having need for additional income Khlgatian worked very hard and produced 40 shafts per day, about twice the normal output per worker. Because he was producing so much his pay naturally increased. But since this caused the factory's wage fund to be depleted at a faster rate than planned Khlgatian's pay was cut to 27 kopecks per shaft. Thereafter, he cut his rate of production, causing his pay to be increased to 30 kopecks. Henceforth Khlgatian made certain that his production did not exceed that of other workers. (*New York Times* 1-18-80)

This is the reason why nothing ever changes in the Soviet economy. Thus, *The Economist* has observed, "although official policy in the Soviet Union favors industrial innovation, in practice the system protects the status quo. It has always been the proud claim of Soviet leaders that socialism helps modernization while capitalism represses it. Experience suggests the opposite. ... Some of the blame lies with red tape. But the main reason is that nobody has a direct interest in bringing about change."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Those incentives which do exist are almost exclusively directed toward maximizing current production. As a result, Soviet managers have no reason to replace obsolete equipment with modern. In a survey of Soviet machine-tool factories it was found that 80 percent of all decisions to replace equipment were made because the machine was physically worn out. Modernization and improved productivity were almost never a consideration.

Consequently, replacement investment in Russia amounts to less than 30 percent of total investment, compared to twice that in the U.S. As a consequence, capital repairs for older machinery consumes one fourth of all Soviet gross investment and occupies a tenth of the entire industrial workforce. Since spare parts are hard to come by, buyers of capital equipment must maintain their own repair shops, which produce parts for three to five times the cost of plants specializing in spare parts. This all represents economic waste and takes a heavy toll on Soviet industrial output.

Until recently, the Soviets could compensate for their inefficient production methods and achieve planned growth rates by throwing more and more manpower into problem areas. However, because of a significant decline in the birthrate throughout the Soviet Union, which will impact even more heavily during the 1980s, this is no longer a viable option. Between 1980 and 1995 the growth in the working age population is expected to be a mere 0.3-0.4 percent per year.

As important as the decline in the overall birthrate is the difference in birthrates among the Soviet peoples, and the important political and economic consequences of this difference. In *Decline of an Empire* by Helene Carrere d'Encausse (Newsweek Books, 1979) there is a wealth of data about changing demographics in the Soviet Union which indicate the enormity of the problem.

Professor D'Encausse points out that from 1897 to 1959 the population of the Russian people steadily increased in proportion to all the peoples that they dominated. All the other ethnic groups went through phases of regression, either sporadically or continuously. The latest census, however, reveals a departure from this longstanding trend in a way which relates adversely to the Russian people, whose population, proportionate to that of the whole country, has begun to decline, though still remaining in the majority. The Moslem Soviet people, in particular, have registered a spectacular population increase since 1959. And the most recent census indicates that they continue to have birth rates far in excess of the Russian people. For example, the people of Turkmenia (a predominantly Moslem area) have a birth

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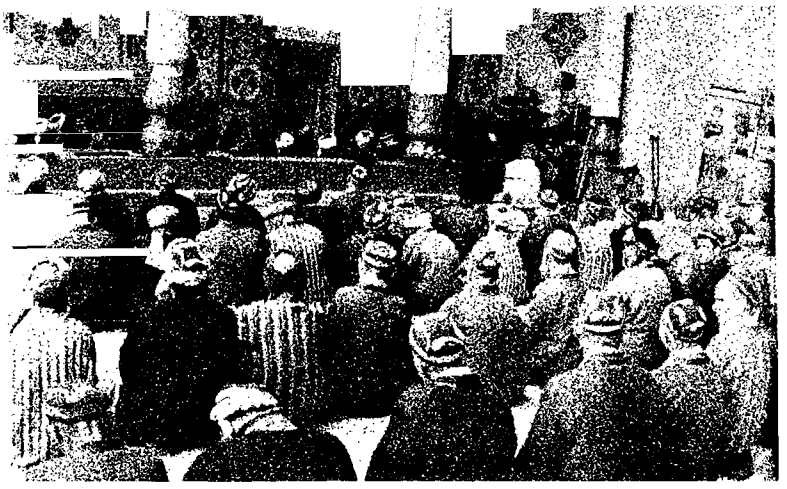

A rapidly increasing Soviet Moslem population and growing Islamic revivalism and revolutionary fervor in bordering countries pose serious concerns for the Soviet government.

rate of 33.9 per 1,000 population compared to 15.3 for people in the Russian Republic.

Nearly a fourth of the Soviet Union's population is already Moslem. The fact that the Moslem population is rising at a faster rate than the Russian population and the fact that Islamic revivalism is now growing in countries along the Soviet border—Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan—could pose very serious political problems for the Soviet government in the 1980s. Indeed, the threat of Islamic radicalism spreading across the border is probably the major reason why the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, and why the invasion is more usefully seen as a defensive operation than an offensive one.

Islamic radicalism isn't the only danger on the Soviet Union's borders. To the east the Chinese remain an important potential threat. Soviet concern for the Chinese threat is demonstrated by the fact that a major portion of its armed forces is deployed along the China border.

Although the China threat is significant, of even greater importance is the growing Soviet vulnerability along its western borders, from the Warsaw Pact nations. The fact is that the Eastern European nations are bound to the Soviet Union out of fear rather than solidarity. Pope John Paul II's trip to Poland last year only highlighted the extent to which Eastern Europe remains a tinderbox of nationalism which could explode at a moment's notice. Twice before, in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviets' Eastern European empire threatened to fall apart. It was only through quick military action and utter brutality that the Soviets managed to contain the situation. They are unlikely to be successful a third time. Thus the *New Republic* recently observed, "Eastern Europe remains the Achilles' heel of Soviet power. After 35 years of communism, there does not appear to be one regime in the bloc that can rely on the loyalty of its population."

For this reason many people suggest that we would be far more successful in opposing Soviet interventionism and adventurism by championing the rights of all people to self-determination, rather than by pumping up an already bloated defense budget. As Eugen Loebl, the former director of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia under the Dubcek government who was expelled after the Soviet invasion in 1968, wrote recently in *Business Week:* "If the current Western policy of detente-appeasement were replaced by a policy based on the inevitability and validity of the self-determination of peoples, there would be a tidal shift in political sentiment throughout the Eastern bloc."

In my view, adhering to a noninterventionist position for the United States does not require that one be impartial about Soviet aggression. The unfortunate thing is that because of American intervention, both overt and covert, in so many different countries around the world, where fascist regimes were supported and nationalistic movements suppressed in the name of anti-Communism, American credibility regarding self-determination is nonexistent. Many Third World nations now see no real difference between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

A step in the right direction would be a recognition that foreign nations do not necessarily share American values and cannot necessarily operate under the American political system. It is less important that a nation be "friendly" to the United States than that it be independent of domination by the Soviet Union or any other power. In the end it is in the best interest of the United States to foster self-determination among all peoples regardless of whether we agree or disagree with their political/economic/cultural systems. However, strict neutrality must be maintained lest we end up back in the same boat of supporting dictatorships and anti-democratic forces in the name of anti-Communism.

"It is essential," according to Loebl,

> that Western leaders realize that nationalistic aspirations do not assure democracy, capitalism, or any other features of Western political systems. The West can count on only two results from a policy of self-determination: one, people in given nations will be free from foreign domination so that they can work out their own political and economic arrangements and, two, such independence forms a bulwark against Soviet imperialism, which is the major threat to freedom throughout the world. Before the people of any nation can build a free society for themselves, they first need to throw off the bonds of foreign oppression. It is this first, fundamental goal of self-determination that the West should work for, in its own ultimate self-interest.

Thus we see that far from being the overpowering superpower bent on world domination which American conservatives see when they look at the Soviet Union, it is a nation with serious problems, threatened on all sides both militarily and ideologically. The truly amazing thing is that it has managed to survive all these years with its empire intact without collapsing from within. Soviet aggression is better understood as an effort to defuse internal pressures and direct them away from home toward real or imagined enemies. When the U.S. attempts to confront the Soviet Union on the same basis, by pumping up arms spending or intervening in nations where the Soviets have caused trouble, we only play into the Soviets' hands, giving them grist for their propaganda mills.

As a nation whose very existence involved revolutionary activity and the overthrow of foreign domination, the U.S. ought to be in a unique position to exploit the desires of all enslaved peoples for self-determination. Unfortunately, our policy of intervention in the affairs of other nations has destroyed our credibility in this respect. Were it to be restored we might find an enormous increase in American influence throughout the world. The Soviet Union itself has 17 federated republics with their own nationalistic aspirations, not to mention the occupied nations of Eastern Europe. This is where our message would have its strongest influence and why freedom and self-determination remain the most powerful weapons against oppression. ❑

Bruce Bartlett is a veteran congressional aide and a widely published writer on political, economic and historical matters. His articles have appeared in *Washington Monthly, National Review, The Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. He is a contributing editor of *LR*.

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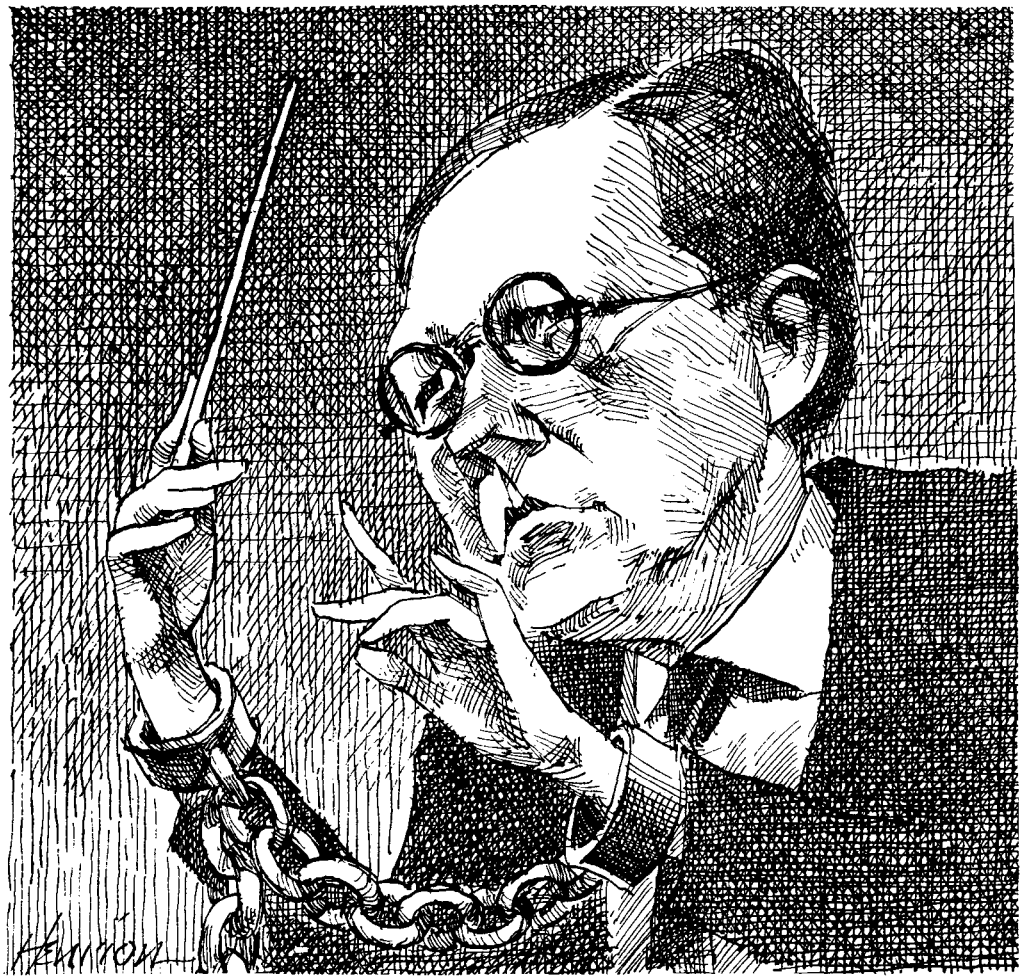
BOOKS AND ARTS



Of music and mountains of corpses

ROBERT FORMAINI

Testimony, *by Dmitri Shostakovich. Harper and Row, 289 pp., $15.00.*

"Resistance! Why didn't you resist?" Today those who have continued to live on in comfort scold those who have suffered. Yes, resistance should have begun.... But it did not begin.

—Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn
The Gulag Archipelago

THE SUBSTANCE OF this book is reminiscence, memories of the living hell that is Soviet Russia, told to and edited by musicologist Solomon Volkov. It is not an easy book to read for many reasons. First, there is the constant stream of names that need footnotes, since most western readers are not familiar with Russian history. Second, there is little coherence in the ordering of the material, or in the sequences of events; it is almost a stream-of-consciousness memoir. Shostakovich's mind wanders from memory to historical events, to theories of art and philosophies of life, with few rational bridges to connect these ramblings of an aging, pessimistic, and bitter man. Why then should one bother to read this book? Because it is, simply, one of the most important testaments to life in the Soviet Union that has yet emerged from that closed society.

There is, of course, no shortage of books about the horrors of the collectivist superstate. On a theoretical level, there is Orwell's *1984* or Koestler's *Darkness At Noon*. On the historical side, there are Conquest's *The Great Terror,* Lyon's *Workers' Paradise Lost,* and, of course, Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago.* Yet this book repays the reader in ways these others cannot. Like Solzhenitsyn, Shostakovich lived it; the immediacy of the experience is powerful and real, with characters that actually existed, real human beings who were sacrificed to the irrationality of power run mad. When Shostakovich remembers his life, he sees "a mountain of corpses." Yet the great sadness and horror of such an existence has become internalized within him, the only outlet being his musical compositions. Shostakovich's life is a monument to the way socialism "works" in Russia; yet, do not think for a moment that Shostakovich says libertarian things, or praises the West. Like Solzhenitsyn, Shostakovich has much contempt for Western democracy. Unlike him, however, he has not been taken to the bosom of

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American hardliners. The mention of this book in *National Review* is typical. It seems to say, "Okay, so he was unhappy and his work was used by the Soviet government for propaganda purposes; why then didn't he become a dissident like Sakharov?" Yet the history of mankind is a continuing canvas of individuals buckling under to state power. The martyrs are always in the minority, precisely because most people value their own lives and the lives of their beloved ones above political resistance. There is also the love Russians have for their homeland, an affection that often leads them to remain and struggle quietly against the state, rather than flee to the West.

I think most of this type of criticism is beside the point. In the comfort of our own existences, we may criticize others less fortunate than ourselves without the extent of our own commitments ever needing objective verification. If such conditions as Shostakovich describes come to the United States, then we can, with Thomas More, "clamor like champions, if we have the spittle for it." But just who would clamor, and who would not, will remain, I hope, forever untested. Shostakovich makes the same type of argument against Sakharov:

Some major geniuses and future famous humanists are behaving extremely flippantly, to put it mildly. First they invent a powerful weapon and hand it over to the tyrants and then they write snide brochures. But one doesn't balance out the other. There aren't any brochures that could balance the hydrogen bomb.

If a nuclear war comes between Russia and the United States, it will be small comfort to know that the bombs exploding on American soil were developed and refined by a dissident, a man at odds with the Soviet state machinery. Shostakovich's active distaste for what he calls "humanists" is a recurring theme in this book. In this regard, the contempt he showers on western liberal intellectuals is no less intense than Solzhenitsyn's.

Just then, in 1949, the Jewish poet Itsik Fefer was arrested on Stalin's orders. Paul Robeson was in Moscow and in the midst of all the banquets and balls, he remembered that he had a friend called Itsik. Where's Itsik? "You'll have your Itsik," Stalin decided, and pulled his usual bare trick.

Itsik Fefer invited Paul Robeson to dine with him in Moscow's most chic restaurant. Robeson arrived and was led to a private chamber in the restaurant, where the table was set with drinks and lavish *zakuski*. Fefer was really sitting at the table, with several unknown men. Fefer was thin and pale and said little. But Robeson ate and drank well and saw his old friend.

After their friendly dinner, the men Robeson didn't know returned Fefer to prison, where he soon died. Robeson went back to America, where he told everyone that the rumors about Fefer's arrest and death were nonsense and slander. He had been drinking with Fefer personally.

And really, it's a lot easier living that way, it's more convenient to think that your friend is a rich and free man who can treat you to a luxurious dinner. Thinking that your friend is in prison is not pleasant. You have to get involved, you have to write letters and protests. And if you write a protest you won't be invited the next time and they'll ruin your good name. The radio and papers will smear you with dirt, they'll call you a reactionary.

No, it's much easier to believe what you see. And you always see what you want to see. The mentality of the chicken — when a chicken pecks, it sees only the one grain and nothing else. And so it pecks, grain by grain, until the farmer breaks its neck. Stalin understood this chicken mentality better than anyone, he knew how to deal with chickens. And they all ate out of his hand. As I understand it, they don't like to remember this in the West. For they're always right, the great Western humanists, lovers of truthful literature and art. It's we who are always at fault.

Shostakovich's bitterness at such myopia on the part of western apologists for Soviet tyranny rivals the bitterness he holds for the regime itself. Why the double standard? he asks.

I'm the one who gets asked, "Why did you sign this and that?" But has anyone ever asked André Malraux why he glorified the construction of the White Sea Canal, where thousands upon thousands of people perished? No, no one has. Too bad. They should ask more often. After all, no one can keep these gentlemen from answering, nothing threatened their lives then and nothing threatens them now.

And what about the no less famous humanist George Bernard Shaw? It was he who said, "You won't frighten me with the word 'dictator.'" Naturally, why should Shaw be frightened? There weren't any in England, where he lived. I think their last dictator had been Cromwell. Shaw just came to visit a dictator. It was Shaw who announced upon his return from the Soviet Union, "Hunger in Russia? Nonsense. I've never been fed as well anywhere as in Moscow." Millions were going hungry then and several million peasants died of starvation. And yet people are delighted by Shaw, by his wit and courage. I have my own opinion on that, even though I was forced to send him the score of my Seventh Symphony, since he was a famous humanist.

And what about Romain Rolland? It makes me sick to think about him. I get particularly nauseated because some of these famous humanists praised my music. Shaw, for one, and Romain Rolland. He really liked *Lady Macbeth*. I was supposed to meet this famous humanist from the glorious pleiad of lovers of truthful literature and just as truthful music. But I didn't go. I said I was ill.

Once I was tormented by the question: why? why? Why were these people lying to the entire world? Why don't these famous humanists give a damn about us, our lives, honor, and dignity? And then I suddenly calmed down. If they don't give a damn, then they don't. And to hell with them. Their cozy life as famous humanists is what they hold *most* dear. That means that they can't be taken seriously.

Western liberals and other proselytizers for "detente" have no followers within the Soviet Union itself. Here, such individuals are lauded in the media, universities, and editorial pages of our great newspapers as "concerned individuals" and "advocates of human rights." The judgment of the Soviet people is somewhat different:

The moral is clear. There can be no friendship with famous humanists. We are poles apart, they and I. I don't trust any of them and not one of them has ever done anything good for me. I do not acknowledge their right to question me. They do not have the moral right and they dare not lecture me.

I never answered their questions and I never will. I never took their lectures seriously and I never will. I am backed up by the bitter experience of my gray and miserable life. And I'm not happy in the least that my students have adopted my suspiciousness. They don't believe the famous humanists either and they're right.

Within these pages, those who are curious about musical matters will find a wealth of useful information as to the opinions and meanings Shostakovich tried to put into his music. One finds, for instance, the following on Toscanini:

Toscanini sent me his recording of my Seventh Symphony and hearing it made me very angry. Everything is wrong. The spirit and the character and the tempos. It's a lousy, sloppy hack job.

I wrote him a letter expressing my views. I don't know if he ever got it, maybe he did and pretended not to—that would be completely in keeping with his vain and egotistical style.

Why do I think that Toscanini didn't let it be known that I wrote to him? Because much later I received a letter from America: I was elected to the Toscanini Society! They must have thought that I was a great fan of the maestro's.

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The relationship Shostakovich had with Prokofiev was never close, and he feels free to denigrate Prokofiev's abilities:

Once, Prokofiev was showing his assignments in orchestration to Rimsky-Korsakov. This was always done in front of the entire class. Rimsky-Korsakov found a number of mistakes in Prokofiev's work and grew angry. Prokofiev turned to the class triumphantly—there, the old man is mad. He thought that it somehow increased his esteem. But as he later told it, his friends' faces remained serious; he didn't find support in this instance. And by the way, he never did learn how to orchestrate properly.

Many of Shostakovich's opinions are contained within stories about incidents in Russia. This gem on Stravinsky stands out:

The invitation to Stravinsky was the result of high politics. At the very top it was decided to make him the number one national composer, but this number didn't work. Stravinsky hadn't forgotten anything — that he had been called a lackey of American imperialism and a flunky of the Catholic Church — and the very same people who had called him that were now greeting him with outspread arms.

Stravinsky offered his walking stick instead of his hand to one of those hypocrites, who was forced to shake it, proving that he was the real lackey. Another kept hanging around, but didn't dare come up to him. He knew that he was at fault, so he stayed in the foyer the whole time, just like a lackey. "Lackey, stay in the foyer, I'll deal with your master," as Pushkin once said.

Over and over through these stories we are treated to the insanity of the Soviet regime's attempts to control art and artists. The futility and stupidity of what happens under dictatorships, it would seem, cannot be overstated.

Gachev was a good musicologist, and after completing some difficult work he decided to take a rest and went to a sanatorium, where he shared a room with several others. Someone found an old French newspaper. To his misfortune, Gachev read French. He opened the paper and began reading aloud, just a few sentences, and stopped — it was something negative about Stalin. "Ah, what nonsense!" But it was too late. He was arrested in the morning. Someone from the room turned him in, or perhaps they all did.

Before his arrest, Gachev had corresponded with Romain Rolland, who liked the work Gachev had written on him. Rolland praised Gachev. I wonder, did the great French humanist ever inquire what happened to his admirer and researcher? Where he suddenly disappeared to?

I think Gachev got five years. He was a strong man and he got through the five years of hard labor, naïvely hoping that he would be released when his term was up. A few days before the end Gachev was told that he had got an additional ten years. It broke him and he died soon after.

Everyone wrote denunciations then. Composers probably used music paper and musicologists used plain. And as far as I know, not one of the informers has ever repented. In the middle of the 1950s some of the arrested began returning, the lucky ones who survived. Some of them were shown their so-called files, which included the denunciations. Nowadays the informers and former prisoners meet at concerts. Sometimes they bow.

Forced labor, communal apartments ("May they rot in hell"), "special distributors" of food for party functionaries, disappearances in the middle of the night, incomprehensible directives, sudden denunciations followed by sudden praise ... all these Shostakovich details in an agonizingly realistic chronicle. The "fluid reality" that always characterizes a totalitarian system is exposed time and again—

Tukhachevsky's future at that moment seemed radiant. Only a few months earlier he had become Marshal of the Soviet Union. Sounds impressive? And a year and a half later he was shot. And by chance I remained alive. Which of us was luckier?

— as is the *1984* existence, where simple jokes are told under rather strange, if understandable, circumstances:

Even then you had to take a guest to the bathroom to tell him a joke. You turned on the water full force and then whispered the joke. You even laughed quietly, into your fist. This marvelous tradition did not die out. It continues in our day.

How can we Americans understand this type of existence? In Russia, it is not a question of understanding, but of survival. Collectivism has run wild, beyond reason, beyond humanity itself. How would we react if a man disappeared without a trace?

The director was arrested but the work went on as though nothing had happened. This was one of the terrible signs of the age, a man had disappeared but everyone pretended that nothing had happened. A man was in charge of the work, it had meaning only with him, under his direction. But he was no longer there, he had evaporated, and no one said a word.

The name Meyerhold immediately disappeared from conversations. That was all.

Was this in the "Stalinist

THE BETTMAN ARCHIVE

Dmitri Shostakovich in the happier days before Stalin's repression of his music and . . .

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THE BETTMAN ARCHIVE

at work on his Fourth Symphony, which was never performed.

period?" Yes, but also no — for these things continue today under the ever-changing faces of Soviet leadership. The root cause is power lust, and Shostakovich is eloquent in examining that cause:

Tyrants like to present themselves as patrons of the arts. That's a well-known fact. But tyrants understand nothing about art. Why? Because tyranny is a perversion, and a tyrant is a pervert. For many reasons. The tyrant sought power, stepping over corpses. Power beckoned, he was attracted by the chance to crush people, to mock them. Isn't the lust for power a perversion? If you're consistent, you must answer that question in the affirmative. At the moment when the lust for power arises in you, you're a lost man. I am suspicious of every candidate for leadership. I had enough illusions in my misty youth.

And so, having satisfied his perverted desires, the man becomes a leader, and now the perversions continue, because power has to be defended, against madmen like yourself.

For even if there are no such enemies, you have to invent them, because otherwise you can't flex your muscles completely, you can't oppress the people completely, making the blood spurt. And without that, what pleasure is there in power? Very little.

Stalin, Lenin, Brezhnev... the names are immaterial, for in the name of ideology, the policies never change. Lenin had only one complaint against Stalin, that he was "rude" (surely a case of euphemism carried to an infinite extreme). Shostakovich remarks: "As we know all too well, the Party leadership didn't feel the need to remove Stalin from his post as head of the Party because, in their opinion, what kind of a fault was 'rudeness?' On the contrary, it seemed almost like valor."

Of course, many of Shostakovich's works have been used by the Soviet state as propaganda. The Seventh Symphony comes immediately to mind. Written during the siege of Stalingrad, and rushed by airplane to a waiting NBC Symphony broadcast, it vividly tells the story of the invasion of Russia by the Nazi "Blitzkreig," and of the final triumph of the Soviet forces. Similarly, the Fifth Symphony, known as "the triumph of a personality," and ideologically as "the triumph of the socialist personality, the new Soviet Man," with its typically Shostakovichian martial first movement and triumphant finale, has often been used by the Russian government, and by western "humanists" as well, as a classic example of what art under socialism can achieve. Yet these works have been misinterpreted, according to the man who wrote them. The program puff pieces, as he sees it, are precisely that, meaningless ideological fantasies written by those with a vested interest in their promulgation.

The "triumph" in both symphonies, according to Shostakovich, is "forced rejoicing ... rejoicing under threat." The truth of this can be easily heard in both works, and is obscured primarily by the quicker tempo the Fifth is usually given by American conductors, and by the preprogrammed aspirations and predilections of American audiences. No one cries upon hearing the conclusion of the Fifth in American concert halls, yet the sadness shines through for the Russians. Music may indeed be the "universal language," but no two peoples speak it in unison. That the Soviet state understands the function of art is clear; why else would they take such pains to control it? The propaganda value of art is overwhelming, when done competently; a picture, a poem, or a symphony can have value far beyond anything which vast expenditures for direct political propaganda could buy.

And so we have, in the end, a paradox. That Shostakovich and God knows how many more like him suffered and continue to suffer under the repression in Russia, and in countries all over the world, does not help us understand why they don't follow other options.

No, every new day of my life brings me no joy. I thought I would find distraction reminiscing about my friends and acquaintances.

But even this undertaking has turned out to be a sad one.

I have thought that my life was replete with sorrow and that it would be hard to find a more miserable man. But when I started going over the life stories of my friends and acquaintances, I was horrified. Not one of them had an easy or a happy life. Some came to a terrible end, some died in terrible suffering, and the lives of many of them could easily be called more miserable than mine.

And that made me even sadder. I was remembering my friends and all I saw was corpses, mountains of corpses. I'm not exaggerating, I mean mountains. And the picture filled me with a horrible depression. I'm sad, I'm grieving all the time. I tried to drop this unhappy undertaking several times and stop remembering things from my past, since I saw nothing good in it. I didn't want to remember at all.

Such is the nature of the Soviet artist. To create under such conditions, it seems to me, dwarfs virtually all the "poverty stricken, aspiring artist" myths that run through the history of European and Western art in general. What would the Russian artist give to live in poverty, but with artistic freedom? To cut all ties with the state, the unions of inferiors who judge your works, the bureaucrats you depend on for food and housing, the political hacks who write the reviews for the state-controlled press ... what would they give?

Perhaps not enough.

Robert Formaini, a professional musician, is Vice President for Policy Research and Public Affairs at the Cato Institute.

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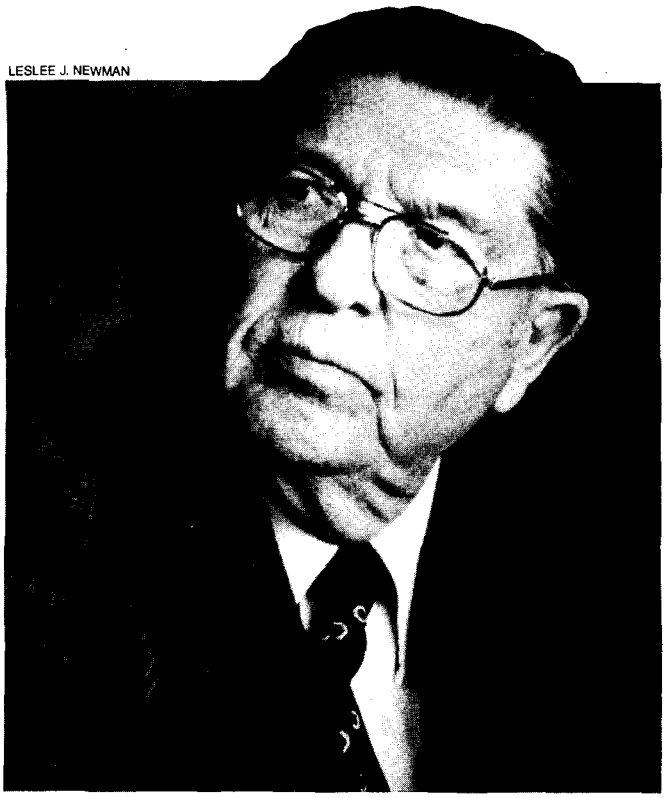
Jarvis: the man and his tax cuts

DAVID LAMPO

I'm Mad As Hell, *by Howard Jarvis (with Robert Pack).* Times Books, 303 pp., $9.95.


LESLEE J. NEWMAN

ANYONE WHO WAS IN California on election day, June 6, 1978, will never forget it. It was one of the most exciting and important days in California—even national—history. For on that day, the voters of California passed Proposition 13 by an overwhelming margin, and the modern tax revolt, which had been smoldering for a long time, finally exploded.

Proposition 13 cut California property taxes by an average of 57 percent; and the marvelous thing was that, unlike so many other so-called tax reform measures, it didn't merely replace the lost revenues with increases in other taxes. In fact, 13 mandated that any proposed new taxes had to be approved by two-thirds of the voters, which for practical purposes virtually insured that there'd be no new taxes. Proposition 13 was nothing less than radical tax reduction, which is why so many libertarians all over the state worked so hard for its passage. Even before it qualified for the ballot, Libertarian Party Presidential nominee Ed Clark (then in his race for the Governorship of California) spoke out in favor of 13 in dozens of speeches throughout the state.

The massive opposition which arrayed itself against Proposition 13 was a veritable who's who of California government and big business. The battle lines were drawn, in effect, between those two classes which John C. Calhoun described so well as the taxpayers and the tax-consumers. The latter group, including everyone from Bank of America (which holds billions of dollars in municipal bonds) to the public employee unions, waged an hysterical and deceitful campaign, lying about everything from the size of the state budget surplus to the effects Proposition 13 would allegedly have on employment in the state. Yet the more lies they spewed forth, the more determined taxpayers seemed to become to vote for their *own* interests for a change, rather than for those of the special interests.

An analysis of campaign contributions in the election reveals just who those special interests were. More than one hundred corporations donated $200 or more to defeat 13: Atlantic Richfield, Bank of America, and Pacific Mutual Life contributed $25,000 each; Rockwell International, Bechtel Corporation, U.S. Steel, Coca Cola, and 20th Century Fox, among others, contributed lesser amounts. Only *two* corporations contributed $200 or more in *support* of Proposition 13—an ironic fact, in light of the often repeated charge that the big beneficiaries of 13 would be big businesses. In reality, it was every homeowner in the state who benefited the most; it was homeowners who had the most to lose if 13 failed—their homes. The Proposition 13 campaign was truly a grassroots movement.

The co-author of Proposition 13, and certainly the most animated force behind it, was Howard Jarvis, a Southern California businessman and anti-tax activist. *I'm Mad As Hell* is Jarvis's recounting of the Proposition 13 campaign and his blueprint for what he believes has to be done at the federal level to cut taxes nationally and end inflation. Although *I'm Mad As Hell* was written with the assistance of a professional writer, Jarvis's unique verbal style and brashness come through loud and clear on its every page. And although every anti-tax activist would benefit from reading the book, it will be especially gratifying to those of us who were involved in the campaign: reliving the immense emotional satisfaction of 13's victory is sheer pleasure.

The Proposition 13 campaign was the first time in many years that the actual desirability of government's much touted "essential services" was called into question. Everything from police and fire protection to the public schools suddenly came under public scrutiny and was found wanting. Jarvis cites several examples of the pervasive anti-government mood that characterized the campaign. "During the campaign," he writes, "I debated a school superintendent in southern California. He said, 'Why, if you pass 13, we'll have to shut down the schools.' And everybody stood up and clapped. They wanted the damn schools shut down; even Richard Reeves wrote in that *Esquire* article of his that Paul Priolo, the Republican leader in the Assembly, said 'Whenever I tell an audience that Jarvis will bring local government to a halt, all I see is smiling faces.'" Proposition 13's victory proved once and for all that radical political change is possible, not just in the distant future, but here and now, if those who want it will simply work hard enough to achieve it. Already 13 has inspired people all over the country to become active in the tax revolt and has spawned similar measures on other state ballots, many of them successful.

Howard Jarvis, meanwhile, never stops fighting for what he believes. A second Jarvis Initiative, Proposition 9, will appear on the June 1980 primary ballot in California. Dubbed "Jaws II," it would cut the state income tax rates in half, which would mean a loss in revenues to the state of about $5-billion the first year, and just over $4-billion per year thereafter. (Jarvis estimates the projected loss at only $3.2-billion due to the tax revenue which would be generated by the increased private economic growth he expects to follow the tax cut.)

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Jarvis II really continues the work that Proposition 13 began. As soon as 13 passed two years ago, local government officials traveled to Sacramento in droves, hats-in-hand. State "bail-out" money has been between $4-billion and $5-billion per year since then. The education establishment feels that its empire is once again threatened (which it is) and it will be the real force behind whatever effort is mounted to defeat Proposition 9.

The Governor's staff, believing Jarvis II will pass, has already prepared an alternative budget, and the Governor himself has stated that should the initiative pass, he will seek $5-billion worth of spending cuts rather than $5-billion worth of increases in other state taxes to accomodate it. Jerry Brown knows a bandwagon when he sees one.

Immediately after his Proposition 13 victory, Jarvis founded a national organization called The American Tax Reduction Movement. Its goal is to win reform of the federal tax laws—specifically, a cut in federal taxes of $50-billion and in federal spending of $100-billion, both over a four-year period. The tax cut would include a 25 percent reduction in personal income taxes and a reduction in the capital gains tax to a flat 15 percent. That translates into a spending cut of only $25-billion per year — a very modest beginning, to be sure.

The Jarvis bill, H.R. 1000, will, happily, have to compete with a growing number of proposals in Washington to get a handle on federal spending and Federal taxes. Rival measures such as the Kemp-Roth bill, which would cut income taxes by one-third over three years, and the National Taxpayers' Union's balanced budget amendment also have some support in Congress.

Jarvis himself doesn't think much of the balanced budget amendment. In an interview in *The Libertarian Review* (June 1979) he stated,

> I think it's crazy. A balanced budget doesn't necessarily mean any cut in taxes. If they're spending $100-billion this year, they can balance the budget by collecting new taxes and bringing in $100-billion. Next year they can decide to spend $200-billion and raise the taxes again so they can collect $200-billion. The people in this country want a tax cut.
>
> In the second place, I think it would be ten years at least before you could get any federal constitutional amendment into effect in the United States, and we can't wait that long. We've got to do something sooner. Only in the event that we can't force Congress to do what it ought to do should we go for a federal constitutional amendment.

Jarvis is quite right; a balanced budget doesn't *necessarily* mean a cut in taxes. But why would the same Congress which is presumably going to pass Jarvis's tax and spending cuts *raise* taxes to balance the federal budget, rather than cut spending? And by circumventing the Congress, the NTU's drive may very well be successful *before* any spending and tax cuts are enacted by Congress. In the final analysis, there is no *single* solution to the problem of federal spending and inflation in a political atmosphere in which it is still politically advantageous for elected officials like Congressmen to spend ever more and more money.

To no one's surprise President Carter's "lean and austere" budget for 1980-81 comes in at an astounding $616-billion. And after Congress gets through with it, the budget (and the federal deficit) will no doubt go much higher. Interest on the national debt alone will be $79-billion (!) and Carter's $143-billion "defense" budget is the beginning of a five-year plan to add an incredible $90-billion onto the Pentagon budget by 1985. In short, getting reform at the federal level is going to be a hell of a lot tougher than it was in California. If anybody can do it, though, it's probably Howard Jarvis.

Jarvis is by no means a libertarian, though he has expressed a good deal of admiration for Ed Clark and the Libertarian Party. In *I'm Mad As Hell,* he sums up his political philosophy this way: "People universally want taxes and services cut because government is providing them with services they don't want ... The problem is that property taxes have been used to pay for the special interests ... such as social workers, food stamp recipients, and aid to dependent children programs—all of these people have lobbies of their own. They are the ones who want more services, not the people who pay the bills." Unfortunately, but of course, Jarvis has the usual conservative blindspot where certain other lobbies and recipients of federal largess are concerned: defense contractors and big businesses are the most conspicuous. Whatever his philosophical idiosyncracies, however, all libertarians owe him a great deal. As a folk hero to taxpayers everywhere, Howard Jarvis will be a tremendous asset to the future of the American tax revolt for years to come.

David Lampo is a veteran of the Proposition 13 campaign and a member of the national headquarters staff of Students for a Libertarian Society.

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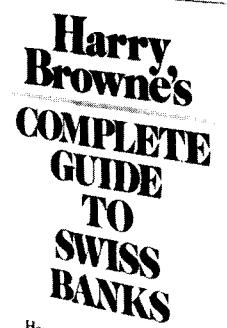
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Cowboy anarchism

VICTORIA VARGA

The Probability Broach, *by L. Neil Smith, Ballantine Books, 273 pp., $1.95.*

L. NEIL SMITH'S LIBERtarian, Heinleinian, science-fiction detective thriller will keep you up until four in the morning. A playful, if rather superficial glimpse of an anarchist America, it shoots down (literally) several sacred dogmas concerning the viability of a society without government.

Its hero, Edward (Win) Bear, is a Lieutenant in the City of Denver's homicide department, and though 1987 is not a pleasant time to be a cop—desperate food and energy shortages, debilitating pollution, sinister Big Brotherism, and general hopelessness have pushed the crime rate up until it matches the rate of inflation (Lt. Bear, too, is hopeless) —where else would he go?

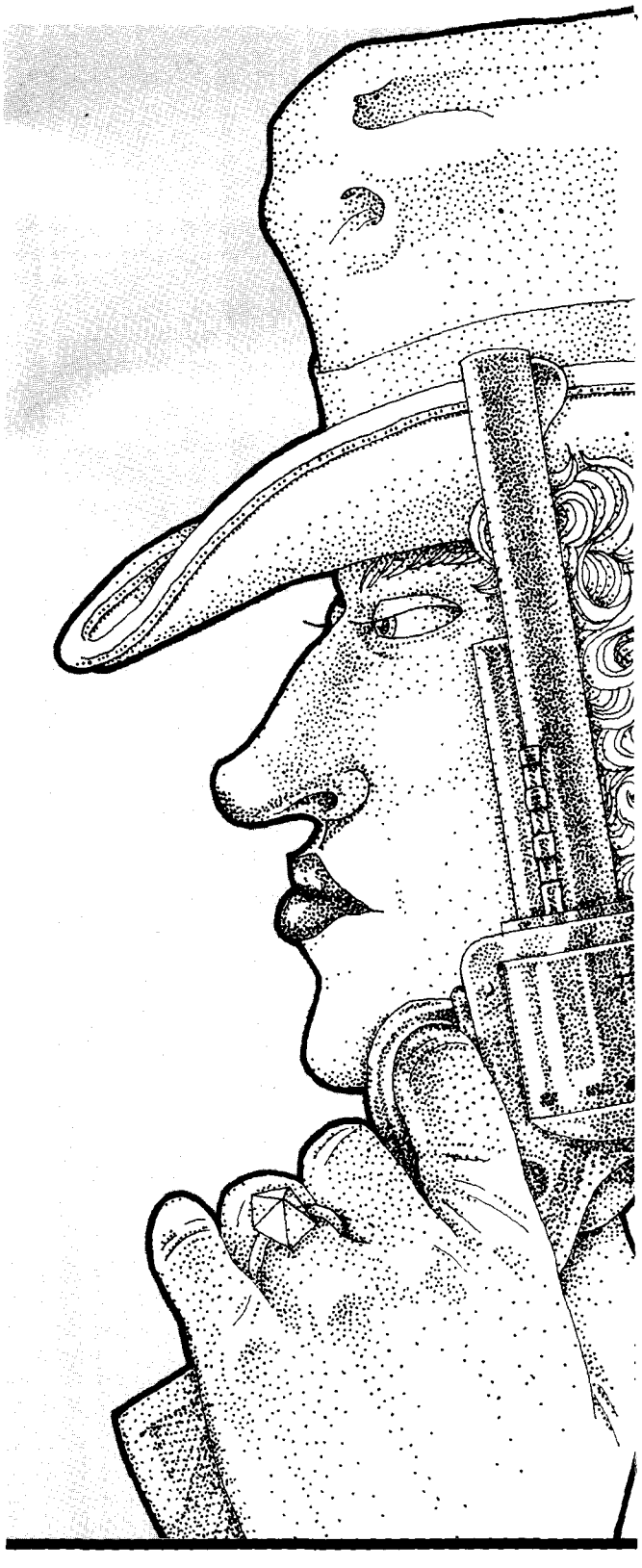
When a physics professor named Vaughn Meiss and an old police buddy are killed by the same hit-squad, Win Bear makes the case his own. His investigations take him to the offices of a small sect of crazies called Propertarians (where, incidentally, he is given a copy of *Toward a New Liberty* by one Mary Ross-Byrd) and finally to Vaughn Meiss's laboratory. As he is searching for clues among some very intricate pieces of machinery, he is attacked by the blazing guns of the killer squad, and the battle sets off an explosion. He awakes in another world, a world with the same geography as the one he left, but with a divergent history after July 2, 1776.

This society, anarchist from the time of the Whiskey Rebellion, has formed a loose confederacy of independent non-states, including Canada and Mexico, and has advanced far beyond the US in every field of science and technology except for atomic weaponry. In 1970, for example, scientists at a company called Paratronics Ltd., while searching for an alternative to ion-drive spaceships, discovered what they called a Probability Broach, which they optimistically hoped would allow nearly instantaneous space travel. But when they first peeked through their "window in time," they saw, not a new view of Alpha Centauri, but a sign that said "NO PARKING." After some confused investigation, the preliminary report was chilling: "...an unknown, exclusively human, English-speaking people wearing uniformly drab, tubular clothing, riding in poisonously primitive vehicles. A culture inexplicably bleak and impoverished."

The new world was definitely earth; it was even Colorado. The scientists reached through the window and carefully collected information—"buying" an almanac and other materials and leaving half-ounce silver coins in trade.

They learned a great deal, none of it encouraging: the Revolution; the Whiskey Rebellion; a *War of 1812?* Mexico; and, horror or horrors, a *civil* war—three quarters of a million dead. Financial crisis alternated with war, and no one seemed to notice the pattern. World War II and the atomic bomb; Korea; Vietnam. And towering above it all, power politics; a State growing larger, more demanding every year, swallowing lives, fortunes, destroying sacred honor, screaming in its bloatedness for more, capable of any deed—no matter how corrupt and repulsive, swollen, crazed — staggering toward extinction.

And yet this catalog of horror admitted one tiny spark of light and hope: eleven minor but distinct references to a group whose values and goals might gratify any decent being in the North American Confederacy —the Propertarian Party.



"Is the gunslinger scenario the only alternative to the police state? Is a world without government protection a jungle? Is it *freedom* that makes handguns a necessity?"

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Vaughn Meiss, both a Propertarian and a scientist, had of course been the first person the Confederates had contacted, and it was his duplicate of their machine that had exploded, blowing Win into the alternate universe.

After a period of dazed recuperation, Win learns from the Confederates that the killers he was after are a coalition of US Security Police (SecPol) and a Confederate group called the Hamiltonians who hope to bring back the state and secure power for themselves by pulling atomic weapons through the Broach and taking over. The Confederate scientists and security agents, which include a dolphin philosopher and a chimpanzee cop, must help Win, his anarchist counterpart (also Edward Bear), a 136-year-old, gun-toting wild-woman, and the standard beautiful "girl" (there's even sex in this book, folks), defeat the combined forces of evil and statism. Which they do. But not before the Continental Congress is convened for the first time in thirty years and Win goes through many culture shocks: working with gorillas, chimpanzees and dolphins who communicate through voice converters and are full citizens; using the many competing phone systems that actually fall all over themselves trying to be helpful; riding a mile-long blimp (the luxury liner of the age) and an express rocket-shuttle that shoots urgently needed persons and materials through a thousand mile tunnel; and seeing the beautiful Confederate version of Colorado—with clean air and exquisite parks covering underground, non-polluting industries.

There is one thing that really bothers Win Bear—and this reader—about this anarchist society. Every man, woman, and child of all the intelligent species carries a weapon. In an emotional (and guilt-ridden) moment, Win yells the following to his friends: "Everybody in this safe, stable, oh-so-humane society carries a *handgun,* prepared to kill at the drop of a hat! What the hell are you all afraid of? How come such well-adjusted people cling so hysterically to their perverted phallic symbols?"

And in a passionate answer, his lady-love counters: "Armed people are *free.* No state can control those who have the machinery and the will to resist, no mob can take their liberty and property. And no 220-pound thug can threaten the well-being or dignity of a 110-pound woman who has two pounds of iron to even things out.

"People who object to weapons aren't abolishing violence, they're begging for rule by brute force, when the biggest, strongest animals among men were always automatically 'right.' Guns ended that, and social democracy is a hollow farce without an armed populace to make it work."

But one wonders. Is the gunslinger scenario the only alternative to the police-state? Is a world without government "protection" necessarily a jungle? Does *freedom* make handguns a necessity? In fiction, at least, those who pack guns end up using them.

The book answers one question very nicely: How does an anarchist society survive attacks by other, less free, societies? The Hamiltonians and SecPol are foiled by a combination of brains, bravery, and sheer good luck. But what if the luck had gone to the other side? Win Bear has a theory: "I think now that they would have lost anyway. Most Confederates would have taken to the hills, fought for centuries if necessary, rather than surrender to tyranny. And no one in this crazy-quilt of a country has the authority to surrender. Nobody."

Victoria Varga is Production Manager of *LR.*

On View

God willing

DAVID BRUDNOY

GOD WORKS HIS WONders (or Her wonders, if that's the way things are) in mysterious ways. Over the years He (or She) guided the hand of the sainted Cecil B. DeMille to profitable partings of the waters and divvying up of the dough, slid the venerable Bing Crosby into collar and cassock as smoothly as one fits a hand into a tailored glove, and made of beloved Barry Fitzgerald His (or Her) *beau ideal* on this too mortal globe. In short, God has had not only a vested interest, but also until very recently something of a veto, in matters of religion in the movies. From burning bushes (*The Ten Commandments*) to cumulonimbus clouds (*In Search of Historic Jesus*) God has been portrayed as a natural force with a baritone voice, and both before the great Technicolor biblical epics of our youth and after, as a Force not to fool around with. God speaks; Hollywood listens.

Violence on screen bothers do-gooders but doesn't upset super-moralists, while sex on screen means nothing to the former but drives the latter to frothing. Religion, on the other hand, is charged with a frightful energy, and *everybody* hovers, ready to pounce, if some film steps without the magic circle of the permitted. *Elmer Gantry* may make a mockery of God's highest calling, but he must pay, and pay terribly, for his sin, since convention requires that clergymen generally be portrayed as devout, that holy folks be seen as better than profane folks, and that matters of the spirit be presented more (shall we say, redundantly) spiritually, than matters of the flesh. Cinematic history is fairly clear in this regard and the viewer knows the routine by now.

The mainstream film in recent years has been successfully challenged in the allegiance of filmgoers by movies that deviate from such norms, but in America and in most other countries the area least tampered with by the experimentalists is the one which concerns us here. When *Rosemary's Baby* and *The Exorcist* began the contemporary craze for the occult on screen, the Devil first got equal if not equally favorable exposure, and these have been followed by *The Omen* and *Damien: Omen II* and *The Heretic: Exorcist II* and a seemingly endless stream of other glossy, gory films that threaten never to exhaust the movie-going public's willingness to be manipulated by schlock. Old Scratch even turns up as *The Car* and—speaking of movies starring James Brolin who is best known for practicing medicine on a motorcycle in "Marcus Welby, M.D."—as a house in *The Amityville Horror.* Lucifer is everywhere doing dirt; God, fortunately, is everywhere, too, picking up the pieces.

The film version of Jay Anson's phenomenally successful book never once produces the spine-tingles on screen that the novel gave its readers. Nor did *The Amityville Horror* succeed as a money-making movie. But it offers Rod Steiger another chance to overact deliciously, as a Catholic priest whom the malevolent power(s) in the haunted house see fit to crush. And as the most conventional religiously-oriented film of 1979, if it doesn't allow the might of Christianity to triumph over the malignancy in that mansion, it at least allows the Christians to escape.

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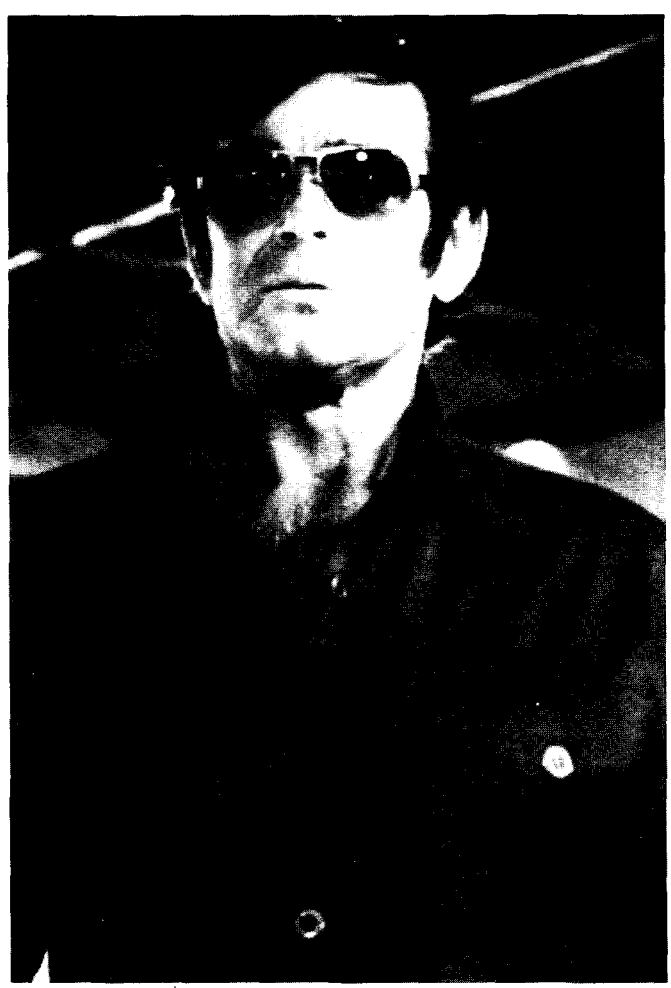
AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL PICTURES

Margot Kidder and James Brolin in *The Amityville Horror,* a "near-perfect manifestation of what is acceptable in religious films."

Amityville, for all that it doesn't deliver the chills (much less the promised thrills) nonetheless plays by the rules of our day: Evil is all around us; God surrounds us; go with God.

I begin with *The Amityville Horror* not only because it is having a new birth right now in drive-ins across the land, but also because it represents a near-perfect manifestation of what is acceptable in religiously oriented films in our day. We are a generation of doubters which nevertheless pays fat lip-service to the expected pieties. Our popular arts, foremost among them television and the movies, only very occasionally (*Nasty Habits;* "Saturday Night Live") deviate ever so slightly from a very narrow range of acceptable images.

Within the last two months three films have used religion as their central focus, each failing disastrously as art if not at the box office. *Guyana: Cult of the Damned* is a quickie cheapie telling of the Jim Jones-People's Temple story, notable mainly for its infinitesimal changes in the names of the principals (the Reverend Jim Jones becomes the Reverend Jim Johnson, Congressman Leo Ryan becomes Congressman Lee O'Brien, and so forth) and for its successful pandering to the people's taste for gore and pomposity, while throwing in just the slightest snatch of nudity for good measure. The incident is so easily brought to mind, those 913 poison-drinking souls so vivid in their body bags, the arrogance and perversity of the cult's leader so useful to the authoritarians and psycho-quacks as a weapon against deviant groups: *Guyana* had its audience before it was made. The sort of movie fan who will put up with narrative lines like "It was a big night for death," and "Was there a message on their lips?" and "Were they trying to tell us something with their last convulsive breaths?" will find bearable the grainy color, post-dubbed dialogue, wooden perfor-



UNIVERSAL PICTURES

Stuart Whitman as the Rev. Jim Johnson in *Guyana: Cult of the Damned,* a "tedious spinning out of a tale we all know by heart."

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mances by near-has-beens (Yvonne deCarlo, Gene Barry, Stuart Whitman, Joseph Cotten, Bradford Dillman), and an excruciatingly tedious spinning out of a tale we all know by heart. The point of this film is exposure of the masses to a simple moral lesson: do not tamper with the word of God. It boils down to that.

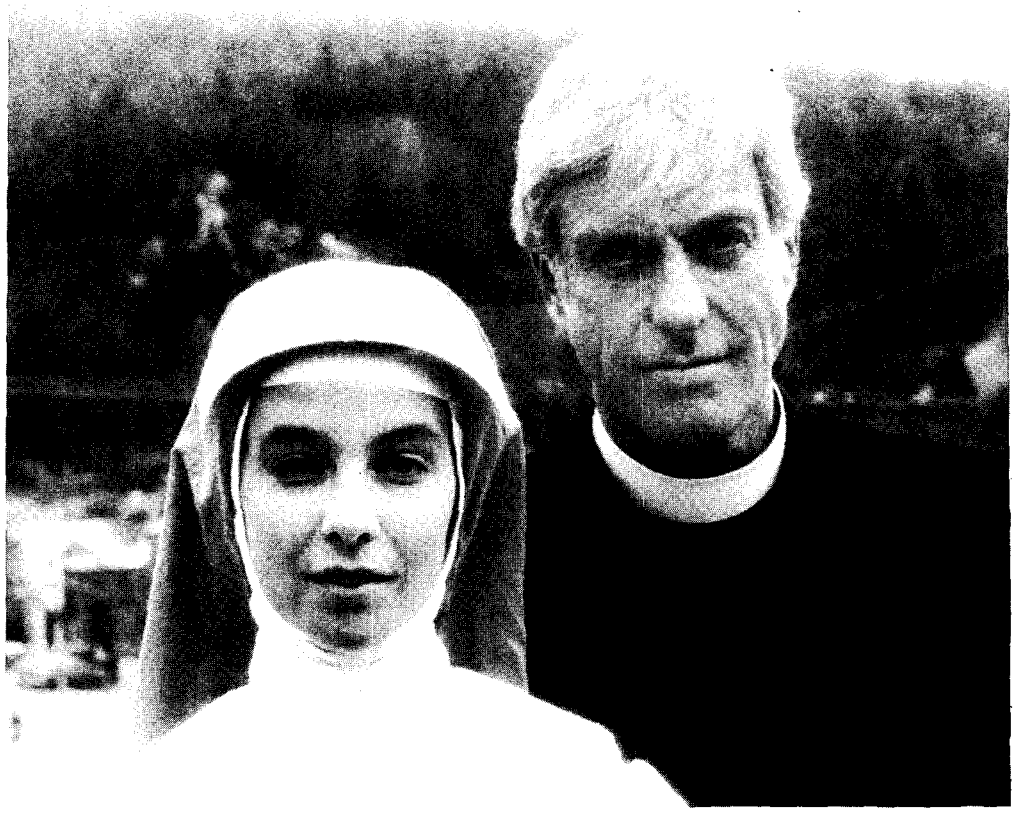
The Runner Stumbles is much more sophisticated, a major studio production peopled with screen favorites, yet it preaches the same down-home faith. Sister Rita (Kathleen Quinlan) comes to work at the isolated parish school run by Father Rivard (Dick Van Dyke), in the process alienating the old nuns, teaching the devoted housekeeper (Maureen Stapleton) to read, lying to the Monsignor (Ray Bolger), and trying to do good works for the loony villager (Tammy Grimes). But Love rears its ugly head and comes between our priest and nun and their vows, and within moments after their first kiss our lovely nun is dead and our handsomely greying priest is in jail, with only a local lawyer (Beau Bridges) to defend him. The movie is based on a 1977 Broadway play, which in turn derived from an episode that shocked Solona, Michigan, in 1915. Placing the film in the 1920s permits the story to take on some shock value which updating it to our own time, when priests and nuns are with some regularity leaving their orders to marry, would have denied it. Moreover, *The Runner Stumbles* is anchored safely in the past, thus inviting us not to be put off by its allegedly sacrilegious theme.

In fact, the film isn't sacrilegious in the least. It moves with the speed of the coming Ice Age to its resolution, flashing back from jail in scene one to a lethargic spinning out of its quite sanctimonious conclusion. We learn that chastity is nicer than carnality, that the Lord uses strange agents to enforce the Divine will, that however gentle our lead characters may be, there is no future for those who diverge from churchly truths. Those who may elect to miss the movie ought to be informed that Father Rivard didn't kill Sister Rita. Never mind; Sister's dead, Father's miserable, the beat goes on. *The Runner Stumbles* fails for several reasons. Van Dyke's work is surprisingly stilted: there is no passion in his Rivard, only attitude—positions, not emotions. And the movie, in trying to have it both ways—in trying to both shock and soothe the audience—manages to have it neither way: we are left with nothing, neither a plausible tale of forbidden love nor a triumphant validation of the common wisdom, though, to be sure, we are left with the vague feeling that you don't mess with God.

And finally, from Sunn Classic Pictures, the cinema arm of the Schick razor people, of close shaves and right-wing political fame, comes its latest four-waller: *In Search of Historic Jesus.* Every biblical epic of the past succeeded in paying due homage to the holy books while failing, without exception, to create a cast of characters that wholly met our expectations. Everybody "knows" what Jesus is supposed to look and sound like, and Moses, and other stars of God's repertory company; nobody, not even DeMille, could quite satisfy everybody's preconceptions. But the formula has been patented, and variations on the theme are not allowed. (For an example of how little leeway is granted in God-flicks, try to catch *Sebastiane,* which was made in Latin and which reduced the story of the saint's martyrdom to a case of not so closet homosexuality on the part of his persecutors. The movie is more a curiosity piece than an example of the higher reaches of cinema art, but it is better than its paucity of bookings would indicate. I expect that *Sebastiane* wouldn't go over very well in Dubuque.)

No, you don't play around with the Gospels or with the most important and most gratifying Biblical tales, however bloody and even sado-masochistic they may be. You do it straight, even if you give God lines nowhere found in the Gospels, even if you borrow, perhaps to the point of stealing, camera angles from an Italian God-flick by Pasolini, even if you use the same plaster cave both for Lazarus's spring back to life and for Jesus's resurrection, even if, as in *In Search of Historic Jesus,* you aspire no higher than the dramatic level of a parochial school senior pageant. For the Word's the thing, and those who believe will believe despite the crummyness of the movie, while those who don't believe are damned, anyhow, so....

Sunn Classic Pictures produces one of these now-it-can-be-proved travesties every year, rents a



20TH CENTURY FOX FILMS

Kathleen Quinlan and Dick Van Dyke as a nun and priest that fall in love in *The Runner Stumbles*.

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POLITICAL PIE FOR ALL!

MULTI-OPTION COMPETITION **WITHOUT** FRAGMENTATION

Structural Reform—Ballots by Richard A Morin could be the most important political book you'll ever read. The author focuses on contradictions usually overlooked by political analysts, and proposes a fundamental change that transcends ideologies. The reform concept is simple, yet implementation would have profound political repercussions.

Morin argues that the current ballot system (rather than money, special-interests and declining faith) is largely responsible for apathy, issue-avoidance, fragmentation, destructive in-fighting, and two-party dominance.

At issue is the cornerstone of current democratic systems—the primitive ballot formula of *One Man = One Vote.* The system drives stakes right into the political heart of our society, divides the electorate, induces polarities that can be manipulated, alienates voters and grants inordinate power to single-interest groups. It may have been a giant step out of authoritarianism and monarchism, but in a modern, complex, 20th-century democracy it fails miserably.

Under the current system, competition can be counterproductive. The "spoiler" role has grown out of the reality that the political pie cannot be shared—it can only be chopped up. Thus, competition can lead to a loss of majority rule.

- *In 1968, Richard Nixon was elected president with only 43.5% of the vote (Humphrey got 43%; Wallace, 13.5%).*

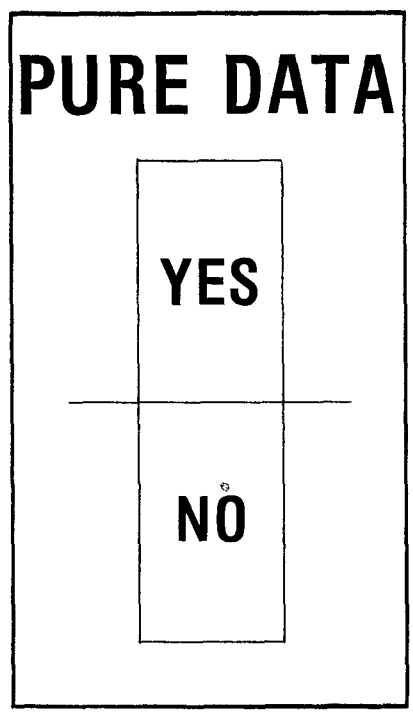
The current system can create "artificial" majorities, which can alienate real majorities and drive people away from the voting booth.

- *In 1977, five candidates representing the first choices of 61% of the voters in New York City's Democratic mayoral primary were thrown out. Koch and Cuomo (who polled 20% and 19 % respectively) were then given the exclusive right to compete in a comparative runoff.*

The current system functions to stifle healthy political debate of issues.

- *Because an ally (and not the opposition on issues) is more likely to tap into a candidate's support base, competition with a close ally is more threatening than that with a challenger having opposite views. When fields are crowded, it often becomes a strategic necessity to avoid issues and throw mud at friends.*

Structural Reform—Ballots presents a functional analysis of voting methods and the political consequences. Under the present system, a vote for one candidate is, in effect, a vote against each and every other contender. In reality, a voter may support more than one candidate. Plurality and runoff voting, and proposed preference systems, cannot fully measure voter support, do not make accurate candidate comparisons, and often mix support with comparative non-support. Political scientists who insist the problems of fragmentation and loss of majority are insurmountable are wrong—the problems stem from the data system, not from competition.



Political thinkers have made a gross error by focusing on voters (first choices or relative preferences) rather than on candidates (support or opposition). If the purpose of an election is to identify the candidate with the greatest political support, the ballot system *must* take a measure of support. Statistically, monitoring support is one of the simplest operations possible, and it eliminates all problems resulting from multiple options.

Morin demonstrates conclusively that binary voting (Direct Approval) is the only correct approach to balloting for political candidates. Direct Approval requires a new ballot formula—*One Person = One Vote (YES or NO) per Candidate Option.* In effect, the system would keep the entire electorate assembled for a separate show of hands for or against each contender.

The binary system is the only data sampling method that would treat each candidate as an independent variable, would directly record political support for candidates, and would allow accurate candidate comparisons. In terms of democratic and scientific validity, the methodological case for Direct Approval is *absolute*—and the implications of that fact are staggering.

But validity is not the only reason why Libertarians, progressives, idealists and thinkers of all persuasions should know about Direct Approval. The binary system would:

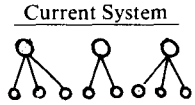
- Open doors for Third Parties and Independents while avoiding European-style splintering
- End the "spoiler" role that keeps support for alternatives to artificially low levels
- Change the nature of political competition from something divisive into something healthy and productive
- Accelerate the advent of political equality for women
- Guarantee election of any constituency's most wanted political option
- Help solidify a political center in every election.
- Make leading candidates immune to "stop" movements
- Improve the quality of political debate
- Eliminate the need for runoff elections
- Reduce in-fighting and issue-avoidance
- Prevent manipulations of election outcome
- Reduce apathy

Direct approval would allow each candidate in a party primary, and each party in a general election, to stand on equal footing for the first time in history. Each would stand as an independent option, and each would be evaluated by the entire electorate. The system would record support overlap for similar options. No option would tap into another's support base, and no votes would be wasted.

- *How many Democrat and Republican voters may have identified with the views of Roger MacBride or Eugene McCarthy in 1976, but voted for Carter or Ford in the belief that an alternative vote would be wasted? We don't know. With direct approval we would know.*

Many world leaders agree that democracy is in serious trouble due to an inability to cope with serious problems that require unity. Binary voting would revolutionize democracy. It would expand our options, preserve majority rule, and unleash the democratic potential of our pluralistic society while enhancing cohesion. If you care about salvaging participatory democracy and protecting citizen control over government, if you want to understand the role of ballots and how the system affects candidate behavior and voter attitudes, you can't afford to pass up *Structural Reform—Ballots.*

DIRECT APPROVAL *INTEGRATES* VOTERS WITH CANDIDATES

	Current System	Direct Approval
CANDIDATES—		
VOTERS—		
RESULT—	Fragments and Factionalism (Loss of Majority)	True Consensus on Each Candidate (Cohesion)

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A scene from *In Search of Historic Jesus*, a film that "tampers more with the Bible than Monty Python's *Life of Brian*."

thousand movie houses for a couple of weeks (that's why they're called four-wallers), saturates the tube with ads that imply, almost to the edge of asserting that no doubt need remain, that whatever the picture in question is in search of has been found, and sucks in patsies by the millions. The pattern is identical in all these Sunn routines: the narrator (Brad Crandall), bearded, solid, bespectacled, imposing in his book-lined study, sets us up for an exciting leap into historical investigation. He takes us, now in shirt-sleeves, open collar, a John Lindsay clone, on location. He introduces us to scientists who wash away our heretical doubts, and he shows us the actors in their polyester robes and paste jewels, performing their ancient tasks and awaiting a miracle or two to jazz up the day. This *In Search* even borrows its first few "historical" moments from its earlier *In Search of Noah's Ark* (1977), saving production costs, subtly hyping its own previous product, and lending a little tangential biblical lesson to the Jesus search. (From here, Sunn Classic can either go back to every book of the Bible in search of Moses and Daniel and such, or, and this would be nice, into the final mystery itself: "In Search of God: Proof Positive." We shall see.)

In Search of Historic Jesus has so little to recommend it that it will be ignored by most of the national critics, omitted from December's worst of '80 lists, and consigned by the siblinghood of film reviewers to the ash can of the beneath-mentionable. Which is precisely the mistake high-brow criticism often makes, ignoring movies loved by The People if those movies cannot be tolerated by anyone a step or two above just subnormal in intelligence. For the reviewers and the chic, *Jesus* is camp, at best. For educated theologians it is another cross to bear. For students of the Bible, it is an atrocity, yanking episodes willy-nilly from the Gospels and from God-knows-where-else and gluing them into the same film. Mary, Jesus's mother, has been made-up by somebody in love with mascara and blusher: she looks like Elizabeth Taylor stumping for her senator husband. St. Peter appears just to have stepped out of the pages of "Gentleman's Quarterly," save only for his robes; this Peter clearly works out each afternoon, brushes with Ultra-Brite, has his hair styled on the East Side, follows Jimmy Carter's cue in smiling continuously, and flexes whenever possible. Jesus (John Rubinstein, Arthur's son), vanquishes a tiger with his David Carradine kung-fu glower, walks a bit wobbly on water (boards, just barely perceived by the viewer), performs his miracles aided by white glowing light and stop-action photography, and seems only to come alive, paradoxically, when he's being hideously killed. The crucifixion scene validates the opinion that ultra-conservatives like their movies sexless but full of sadism.

"It was three days later, when the greatest miracle of all took place," the narrator intones. You got it. Gone is the "in search," on with the "found." At which point we are whipped across the globe to pre-Columbian America, or early Columbian America, to be more exact, for a peek at Indian statuary bearing faces resembling John Rubinstein's and a quick listen to a fast rap about native tales of a white prophet who came, long ago, bearing good tidings and doing tricks. And then—then the centerpiece of this excursion into ground-level religiosity: the mystery of the sacred shroud of Turin.

The shroud is a piece of cloth, long venerated by the Church (this after it was first branded, by the same Church, a forgery), long puzzled over by scientists unable to prove that it wasn't the very cloth in which Jesus was wrapped after his crucifixion. Be-

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cause the shroud is manifestly *not* a recent forgery and seems unlikely to be an old forgery, either—it bears, as seen with sophisticated instruments of analysis, a clear imprint of the body of a man of Judea crucified as Jews were then crucified, and other attendant marks supporting various lines in the Gospels—it may well turn out to be not only the last garment of *a* crucified Hebrew of that time but of Jesus Christ.

For Christians the shroud provides the one piece of scientifically exciting evidence to buttress their belief that the Gospels tell truly of the last earthly experiences of their Lord. Jeffrey Hart, senior editor of *National Review*, has championed and written intelligently (and convincingly) of the cloth for years, and other conservative (as well as religious) journals have followed *NR* in reporting every latest development in the continuing saga of the shroud. So faithfully has the shroud's story been told that *In Search of Historic Jesus* has absolutely nothing new to tell. Except that it can tell the now well-known story of the shroud with dramatizations of some episodes in its history. Out comes another bit of previously used film, this a flood (not *the* flood, just your average everyday deluge of a city by water), out come the plaster walls and cardboard castles and crepe costumes and paste jewels, out comes Brad Crandall with his life-sized photographs, his most sonorous declarations, and his very best see-I-told-you-it's-all-true stare. And there we have it: Jesus, the historic Jesus, has been found. All the lesser tricks of the cinema have marched through the movie to bolster its makers' case. If, in the cause of Film Serving God the Sunn Classic people have not scrupled at interjecting fabricated words and actions into their "historic" recreations of Jesus's life, if they have not worried about dragging out something called the Aquarian Gospel (which we learn was "written in 1907") as more "evidence" to aid us in our search, if they have not hesitated to tamper more with the Bible than Monty Python did in that brilliant satire, *Life of Brian* — a movie much maligned, particularly by traditionalists who never bothered to see it, a movie which, when the next Monty Python film appears, will be discussed here at length—if, in short, the people who patched together this appalling hodgepodge have not resisted *any* temptation to fudge, to fabricate, to twist, it isn't surprising that its one bit of almost believable "evidence," the shroud of Turin, comes in this movie to seem as bogus as the rest of the film.

Ironically, then, *In Search of Historic Jesus* does grave disservice to the belief it supposedly was made to champion. It cannot but nauseate anybody whose level of belief is at all above the most primitive, it cannot convince anyone who stands agnostic to that belief, it alienates those it might attract. With one exception to those cannots: it can and will and does, as the rest of these Sunn Classics movies can and will and do, gratify that large if not majority chunk of American public that feels left behind by the *real* movies, that feels out of sorts owing to the values portrayed in the movies the rest of us like, that wants to snuggle up to a good dogma and lay their minds to rest. ❑

LR's film critic reviews also for WNAC-TV (CBS) and WHDH-AM in Boston; he hosts "The David Brudnoy Show," New England's leading radio talk program, on WHDH; and he writes a thrice-weekly newspaper column.
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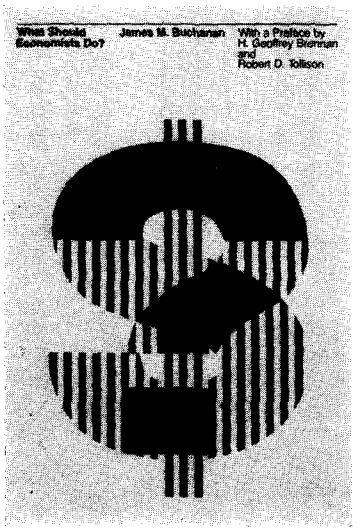

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